

**Archæology and Art**

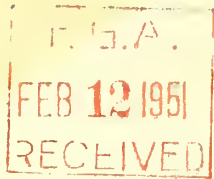
SHIRAZ PAINTING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By GRACE DUNHAM GUEST. pp. v, 70 ; 50 plates. Washington.

Miss Guest's valuable study deals with a particular type of sixteenth-century Persian book painting, numerous examples of which have survived, differing in certain respects, easily recognizable in a general way, from the sumptuous court art of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, of which the celebrated *Nizāmī* at the British Museum is the supreme example. Miss Guest was led to her researches by a manuscript of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, dated 955/1548, and by a comparison of its miniatures with those of a *Zafar-nāmah*, which is two years earlier, and of which a detailed study by Emmy Wellesz and Kurt Blauensteiner was published before the war. Both manuscripts are written by the same scribe, Murshid, known as al-'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzī, who also copied numerous other manuscripts, now in various collections.

Miniatures from many other manuscripts (fifty-six in all—mostly with miniatures—were taken into account) reveal striking points of similarity, and Miss Guest makes out a good case for her theory that this type of painting emanated from Shiraz, which had a brilliant art tradition in the fifteenth century—indeed, probably earlier.

It is not possible here to deal with Miss Guest's stylistic analysis of these miniatures, or with her interesting diagrams, showing the mathematical principles the painters followed. She rightly draws attention, not only to the positive merits—logical composition, charming colour, and skilful craftsmanship—of a type of painting liable to be overshadowed by the great Ṣafavī masters' work, but also to what seem to be their conservative features.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.



✓ Harton, Dr.  
George

# ISIS

AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE HISTORY  
OF SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION · OFFICIAL QUARTERLY  
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We trust you will be interested in the attached cutting  
from our issue \_\_\_\_\_, Vol. 41, p. 345, 1950

I. BERNARD COHEN, *Managing Editor*  
Widener Library 189, Cambridge 38, Mass.

GUEST, GRACE DUNHAM. Shiraz painting  
in the sixteenth century. Folio, 70 p., 50  
pls. (*Oriental Studies*, no. 4). Washington,  
D. C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian  
Institution, 1949.

The previous volume of this splendid series by  
John Ellerton Lodge (1946) was reviewed in *Isis*  
39, 110). The present one is devoted to an elab-  
orate analysis of the miniatures included in a MS  
of the Khamsa of the great Persian poet Nizāmī  
(1141-1203) of Ganja (Elizavetpol). The MS was  
written in 1548 by Murshid al-'Aṭṭar al-Shīrāzī,  
the same who wrote in 1546 a MS of the *Zafār-  
nāma*, the so-called Praetorius Codex of Vienna.  
The Freer Codex (obtained by Mr Freer in 1908)  
contains 25 miniatures, the work of apparently  
three different artists, representing admirably the  
school of Shīrāz. The analysis was done by Miss  
Guest who was Mr Freer's assistant and aided the  
growth of his collections over a period of 26 years.  
She retired in 1946 but completed this book which  
will keep her memory green. The fifty beautiful  
plates will endear this volume to students of Per-  
sian art and letters.

G. S.







SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
FREER GALLERY OF ART  
ORIENTAL STUDIES, NO. 4

SHIRAZ PAINTING  
IN THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(WITH 50 PLATES)

BY  
GRACE DUNHAM GUEST  
Honorary Research Associate, 1946  
Assistant Director, 1920-1946



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## FOREWORD

This study of the painting of Shiraz in the sixteenth century is one result of the author's prolonged and intimate acquaintance with the subject. Miss Guest had the unique opportunity of not only knowing the Freer collections in Detroit during Mr. Freer's lifetime, but of aiding in the growth of the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art over a period of 26 years. This growth was particularly apparent in the field of Near Eastern art, and as Assistant Director during this time it was one of the author's particular duties to study and catalogue the Near Eastern acquisitions which now form what is in many ways an outstanding collection. The present work was undertaken while Miss Guest was still Assistant Director, and it has been brought to completion since her retirement in 1946, when she was accorded the honorary title of Freer Gallery of Art Research Associate in recognition of her invaluable services. It is therefore extremely gratifying to publish this important body of material.

FREER GALLERY OF ART,  
APRIL 1948.

A. G. WENLEY,  
*Director.*



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## INTRODUCTION

The study of sixteenth-century painting in Shiraz that follows is an amplification of the ordinary work of classification and annotation demanded by all works of art which find their way into the Freer collections. When that study began, the paintings were assigned, tentatively, to Shiraz; first, because of the name of the scribe Murshid "of Shiraz" who it was assumed worked with others of his compatriots; and second, by the negative process of elimination, since the paintings differed so markedly in style from contemporary work in other centers. It seemed, too, reasonable to suppose that the lingering traces of Timurid painting observable in this mid-sixteenth-century work might be due to a certain pride in tradition very natural to an old and cultivated city. It appeared, then, that the problem might be clarified by a study of all other available miniatures from manuscripts copied by this Murshid or by other Shiraz scribes during that period. It was while searching for such material that Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery staff called my attention to an article by Emmy Wellesz and Kurt Blauensteiner: *Illustrationen zur einer Geschichte Timurs* which had appeared in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, Jahrbuch des Vereines der Freunde Asiatischer Kunst und Kultur in Wien* in 1936—a minute study of the designs of the miniatures in a *Zafar-nāma* copied in 1546 by "Mir-Schah dem Schreiber, der bekannt ist unter dem Namen Attar lillah al-Schīrāsī," a signature either so small or possibly so blurred that it was at first misread for that of the only scribe bearing that name: Murshid known as al-'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī. The article appeared so shortly before the seizure of Austria by Nazi Germany and the gradual cessation of scholarly publication that it seems to have attracted no general attention. It is, however, highly suggestive, and it was largely due to it that I was encouraged to proceed in the search for examples of Shiraz work during Safavid times.

In bringing this task to a close I wish to extend my warmest thanks to those who have been unfailingly kind in response and so helpful in the gathering of material and in having special photographs made, often under the difficult conditions caused by the war, especially in England: to J. V. S. Wilkinson for his invaluable aid in selecting miniatures for study or reproduction from manuscripts in the British Museum and in the collection of A. Chester Beatty; to H. A. Lowe, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum; Sir Leigh Ashton, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum; the Librarian of the India Office Library, London; the Librarian of Cambridge University, England; Wilfred Merton, of Emery Walker, Ltd., London, acting for A. Chester Beatty; the Librarian of Princeton University; Dr. Maurice S. Dimand, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Miss Dorothy E. Miner, Librarian of The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Mrs. William S. Godfrey, Acting Director, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; H. Kevorkian, New York; The Rosenbach Company, New York.

Above all I wish to express my deep appreciation to my colleague, Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery of Art, for his continued interest and sympathetic support in the course of a piece of work that was several times unavoidably interrupted: to Eleanor Morsell Jordan, who has made the plans and drawings included in the text; to Burns A. Stubbs, for his work in making many photographs for study and reproduction; to Bertha M. Usilton, Librarian, who has made the bibliography and index; and to Lnor O. West, who has typed and re-typed manuscript material. To all these friends of the Freer Gallery staff my warmest thanks.

G. D. G.

## TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration system followed in this study is a simplified version of that employed by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. It uses th, j, ch, kh, dh, sh, gh and q (instead of *th, dj, c, kh, dh, sh, gh* and *ḳ*) and v for the letter *wāw* or *vāv* in Persian words. Very common names of persons (like Muhammad, Ali, Abdallah), of towns (like Shiraz, Herat, Tabriz, Bukhara, Isfahan, Tehran, Asterabad, Qazvin), and of dynasties (like Timurid and Safavid) are given without diacritical marks.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- App. —Appendix.  
BMFA—Boston Museum of Fine Arts.  
BM —British Museum.  
B-W-G—Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray.  
Coll. —Collection.  
FGA —Freer Gallery of Art.  
H —(Hijra) Muhammadan Era.  
Hs. —Handschrift (pl., Hss.).  
J-Y —Jackson and Yohannan. Cat. of Persian Mss. in New York, MMA.  
MMA —New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
Ms. —Manuscript (pl., Mss.).  
V-A —Victoria and Albert Museum.



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## CHAPTER I

In 1908 the late Charles L. Freer acquired a manuscript volume of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (08.199) to add to his then private collection of Oriental arts. In the course of time the book became a part of the permanent collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, was duly catalogued and some of its miniatures exhibited; but it is only recently that a close examination of these paintings has resulted in a comparative study that has yielded most unexpected returns.

The book contains 402 leaves of brownish, polished paper, sewed in quires, and bound in a much worn sixteenth-century brown leather binding which may well be the work of Shiraz, so long famous for fine bindings (66, vol. III; cf. Gratzl, E., *List*, p. 1989, Nos. 8, 18, 19, 21, 25, and 29). At some not very recent time, however, the binding, needing a new back, was put together with inside and outside covers reversed. The original outside cover, now found inside, is of painted lacquer with designs of "fighting animals" and of birds painted in gold silhouette on a ground of delicate foliate scrolls (68, cf. pl. XXIX; for similar design see also 66, vol. III, p. 1984 f.; vol. V, pl. 971 B); the borders with a Chinese cloud-band design showing dark on a gold ground (3, cf. pl. XIII). (Pl. 1, A.) The present outside cover, much worn, is adorned with stamped and tooled work in gold and with intaglio sections filled with filigree designs, apparently of cut leather, on a blue ground. The filigree may be of cut paper, but it is worn like the leather surface (34, cf. pl. XVI).

The double-page frontispiece (*sarlawh*) (08.259) is illuminated in gold and blue, with gray-green framing the medallions in the centers, and with small areas of green, dull red, pink, and cream-color in the flower scrolls that cover both blue and gold surfaces. In the borders, delicate cloud bands are added to foliated arabesques. In the two central medallions are written in an exquisite *nasta'liq* script, in gold, the opening lines of Nizāmī's poem (pl. 1, B).

The four *'unvāns* that follow are executed in the same style with great elegance. No two are alike.

The text is written in a delicate *nasta'liq* in black ink, in four columns separated by a double line of gold, the whole framed by a triple line border of red, gold, and blue. Section headings are written in blue ink in the same script on an enclosed ground of foliate scrolls in gold.

The colophon reads: "With the help of the generous King [Allāh] this book called the *Khamsa* from the writings of the most eloquent of writers, the chief of the knowing and loving, the world-renowned, praiseworthy and wise Nizāmī of Ganja—may mercy and pardon be upon him—was finished on the 5th of the month of Shawwāl of the year 955 after the *Hijra*, through the efforts of the most insignificant of the slaves the scribe Murshid al-Shīrāzī: may He forgive his sins and conceal his defects." The date corresponds to November 7, 1548.

The full style of the scribe Murshid, one that he did not always use, appears for the first time in a manuscript of a *Zafār-nāma* in the British Museum, dated 929 H./1523, as Murshid the scribe known as al-‘Aṭṭār of Shiraz (18, vol. I, p. 176, Add. 7635), showing him to have been well established in the third decade of the sixteenth century. The last work signed by him, so far discovered at least, is dated 959 H./1552, which may have been the year of his death, since the work was completed by another scribe, Ḥasan al-Sharīf (18, p. 176, OR. 1359). He was very active during the 30-year period between the dates given,<sup>1</sup> and at least 12 other manuscripts signed by him have been published.<sup>2</sup> These books are all illustrated but, unfortunately, of the great number of miniatures contained in them, only comparatively few have thus far been reproduced. Four of these Murshid manuscripts were exhibited at Burlington House in 1931 (14, pp. 131–132, No. 136; p. 132, No. 138; p. 134, No. 151; p. 139, No. 176) and illustrations from them reproduced later by Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray in their great work upon that exhibition (14, pls. LXXXVIII, XCI, XCVI, XCVII). It may be noted here, however, that these most careful and authoritative writers refrained from giving more than a tentative provenance to the paintings, which were variously assigned to “? Shīrāz” or to “a provincial style.” The inference is that the writers, lacking any exact knowledge of an active atelier in Shiraz itself during the sixteenth century, may have assumed its existence from the *nisba* of the scribe, *al-Shīrāzī*. It may be objected that he would hardly have used it in his signature unless he were working away from home, but examples are not unknown of inscriptions which include both the name of the place where a piece of work is completed and the same place-name in the *nisba* of the worker (23, cf. vol. XI, No. 4046; 77, p. 73, No. XV; 67, pp. 107–108). That work was being carried on in Shiraz in Safavid times is attested, for example, by the *Shāhnāma*, in the *Türk ve İslam Asarı Müzesi*, “completed in Shīrāz,” and by two manuscripts in the London exhibition, one “completed by Ḥasan Muhammad Aḥsan at Shīrāz” (14, p. 143, No. 202 [App., No. 35]); another by “Qāsim al-Kātib in Shīrāz” (14, p. 146, No. 223 [App., No. 43]). Was there then an active organized workshop there during the sixteenth century, and if so, did it produce paintings having a clearly recognizable style? The best answer to that question may be found in a study of the miniatures in manuscripts signed by Shiraz scribes, including those of Murshid al-‘Aṭṭār.

The Freer Codex contains 25 miniatures, the work apparently of at least three different painters. They have been removed from the binding, remounted, and given individual registration numbers. The immediate impression received in

<sup>1</sup> This could hardly be the same Murshid as he who completed a Nizāmī Ms. in 1481 (14, p. 94, No. 74). It is interesting to note, however, that this earlier Murshid may also have been a Shīrāzī, since a miniature from that book is apparently the work of the Shiraz school of painting (65).

Still another Murshid is apparently he who signed himself Murshid al-Dīn Muhammad who was active in the early part of the sixteenth century. There are manuscripts signed by him at Shiraz in the Library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft at Halle, Germany (a *Divān* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī dated 911 H./1505) (cf. 38, p. 23, No. 29) and another, a *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the possession of H. Kevorkian, New York. The latter is dated 919 H./1513 and signed by him “in Shiraz.” (See Appendix, No. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, Part I.

looking at these paintings, one by one, is of a neat and orderly composition in two dimensions; of skillful craftsmanship in drawing and illumination, and of charming color. What is most arresting, however, is an element of reminiscence in the appearance of the landscape and in the figures of horses and the forms of trees, plants, and rocks which suggests the work of a conservative school, of men trained in an older tradition, quite uninfluenced by the contemporary work of the great painters of the Safavid court. In the middle of the sixteenth century they appear to be working in a style that has been evolved from that of predecessors in a direct line. These predecessors, I venture to say, were the fifteenth-century painters of Shiraz, which had been, as dated miniatures show, "the principal cradle of the Timurid style" (14, p. 52). In its earlier phases Shiraz work is praised for its composition, fine healthy color, and its imaginative envelopment (66, cf. vol. V, pls. 855-864). In its later phases, when recognized at all, it is apt to be dismissed as lifeless and conventional or to be committed to that limbo of uncertainty presided over by the question mark.

But happily, in the study made by the co-authors Emmy Wellesz and Kurt Blauensteiner (76, pp. 20-34) of the miniatures in a manuscript of the *Zafār-nāma*, dated in 953 H./1546 and signed by our scribe Murshid known as al-'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī we are furnished with an objective, and indeed invaluable, means of analysis of the sixteenth-century Shiraz paintings. The manuscript in question designated as "the Praetorius Codex" contains now only 6 of its original 17 miniatures,<sup>3</sup> and it is to these that the writers mainly confine their observations.

These six miniatures, while the work of two different painters, they find to be equally distinguished in composition, color, and execution. The excellence in composition, they point out, is due to an "inner order" based upon a mathematically controlled plotting of the page design as a whole. Their analysis of the geometric system employed involves the following points:

- a. Primarily, it is based upon "text-control," that is, the relation established between the areas of text enclosed within the frame to the area of the painted surface.
- b. The creation of an inner space between the upper and lower text areas; and an outer space beyond the opposed ends of text areas, a tall rectangle in shape about four-tenths the width of the inner space.
- c. A corner—sometimes two—cut in to the width of the outer area.
- d. A composition so arranged that the principal scene is placed in the square inner space; subordinate elements, whether architectural, landscape, or figural, occupying the outer space.
- e. The existence of two (invisible) axes within the inner space, placed at:
  - 1, the length of text area measured inward from the outside edge of the outer area;
  - 2, the width of the outer area measured inward from its inside edge.
 On, or between these inner axes, are placed the principal figures of the main scene; and in two known polo games, the ball, the cynosure of all eyes, is placed midway between them.
- f. Finally, the repetition of the two principal measures repeated in a kind of counterpoint throughout the design, appearing in height and width of aivāns, doors, and windows; length and width of carpets, and so on.

<sup>3</sup> Two others are in the V-A, London (E2138-1929; E2139-1929); one in Spiegelberg Coll., Berlin; others scattered. (See pl. 39: V-A, E2139-1929.)

This structural base of composition may be understood more easily, perhaps, in the form of a diagram (fig. 1) than in this somewhat wordy description.

In their detailed analysis of the Praetorius Codex miniatures, the authors refer again and again to this deliberate contrapuntal scheme of recurring measures in the creation of a harmonious and rhythmically ordered structure, and they, too, find in it "the survival of a system which characterizes the best works of the Timurid period as late as the end of the 15th century." Here we may for the moment leave them and turn back to examine whatever evidences we can find for artistic continuity according to the Wellesz-Blausensteiner method of analysis.

That a conservative school of painting should have continued to flourish in Shiraz, while those of Herat and Tabriz reflect the changes that were taking place in the east and north during the troubled times at the end of the fifteenth century,

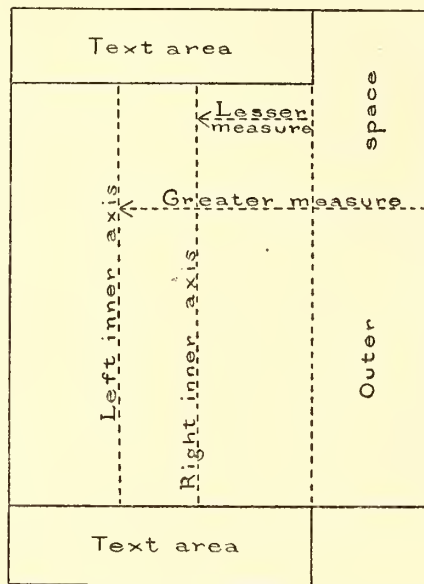


FIG. 1.—Plot of Praetorius Codex Miniatures.

is hardly surprising in view both of its remote situation and its deeply rooted cultural traditions. In medieval times it had been the capital of the old province of Fars, and later the seat of Injū, Muzaffarid, and Timurid kings or princely governors, as the case might be. But always the city had owed its greater distinction to the many scholars and poets who claimed it as birthplace and home, chief among them, of course, the wise Sa'dī and the great Ḥāfiz, whom Darmesteter calls "l'Anacréon, l'Horace et le Voltaire de la Perse." There are two modern descriptions of the city which it seems worth while to repeat, since each evokes something of the spirit of a place so celebrated in letters and so well loved by its inhabitants. The first was written by the then youthful George N. Curzon, sober-minded, factual observer that he was; the second by that sensitive scholar, Edward Granville Browne.

"I caught sight in the opening of a mountain pass, of a great cluster of solemn cypresses and below, the shimmer of mingled smoke and mist that floated above

the roofs of a large town, lying in the hollow of a considerable plain. This was Shiraz, which in the words of its own singer Sadi, 'turns aside the heart of the traveler from his native land'; Shiraz, the home of poets, and rose-bowers, and nightingales, the haunt of jollity and the Elysian fields of love, praised in a hundred odes as the fairest gem of Iran." (26, vol. II, p. 93.)

"We were now at that point, known to all students of Ḥáfiz, called *Tang-i Alláhu Akbar*, because whoever first beholds Shíráz hence is constrained by the exceeding beauty of the sight to cry out in admiration '*Alláhu Akbar*'—'God is most great!' At our very feet, in a grassy, fertile plain girt with purple hills (on the loftier summits of which the snow still lingered), and half concealed amidst gardens of dark stately cypresses, wherein the rose and the judas tree in luxuriant abundance struggled with a host of other flowers for the mastery of colour, sweet and beautiful in its garb of spring verdure which clothed the very roofs of the bazaars, studded with many a slender minaret, and many a turquoise-hued dome, lay the home of Persian culture, the mother of Persian genius, the sanctuary of poetry and philosophy, Shíráz." (21, p. 283.)

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the main stream of cultural as well as political life flowed in other channels, but the city, like others in similar case, apparently continued to draw upon its own resources for its inner sustenance and to preserve its traditions of poetry, and of taste and refinement of expression.

Small wonder then it would be to find in the contented pride of Shiraz craftsmen the secret of their conservatism and to recognize with quickened attention the origin in Timurid painting of the mathematically ordered structures of the sixteenth century.

The basic pattern of fifteenth-century design, following inevitably upon the archaic paintings of the Injū period in Shiraz, tends to be ordered in equal parts upon an invisible network established upon the intercolumniations of poetic text outside the frame of the painting and to show a similar tendency toward a symmetrical composition in prose settings. As early as 1396, as may be observed in the British Museum *Khwājū Kirmānī* manuscript, areas of text were introduced within the frame of the painting, but the strict control of the design by the text areas did not, apparently, come into general practice until a short time later in the work of Timurid painters. It is what gives to the page as a whole its unity of design.<sup>4</sup> The diagrams illustrated in figures 2 and 3 give two early characteristic plottings of spaces left within the text for the miniaturist to develop.

With such a pattern-scheme in the eye, it is quite easy to recognize it in miniatures of the Timurid type up to, and even well into, the early sixteenth century. But it was then no longer in favor in the ateliers of the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The painters from Herat with Bihzād at their head, and their successors in Tabriz, Herat, and Bukhara discarded the strict control of the text-area measurements to gain a greater freedom of composition within the enclosing frame. Areas of text

<sup>4</sup> It would be to the advantage of students of the miniaturist's art if the paintings could always be reproduced within their textual environment.

are, it is true, introduced into their painted areas but as subordinate to the design rather than masters of it. A comparison of the famous miniatures in the British Museum Nizāmī of 1539-1543 (13, cf. pls. III-XVI), with the almost contemporary ones of the Freer set, shows the wide divergence between the free composition of the northern court school and the conservative practice of the south, still ordering its design by the old method. That the method was employed by sensitive and intelligent designers is, however, evident in the evolution of the new system of measures, which came to perfection about 1525 and remained in use by Shiraz painters for the next 40 years without apparent modification. The static ratio of 2:2 employed by Timurid artists was succeeded by a more rhythmic ratio of 2:3 or sometimes 3:5, contrapuntally employed in the basic composition. In-

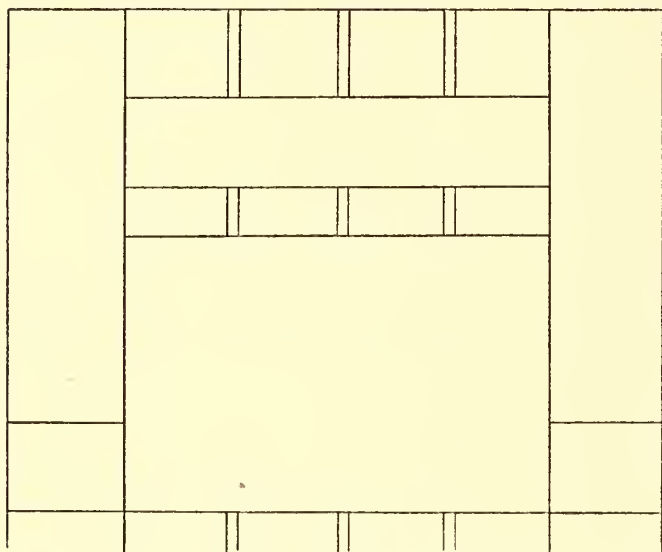


FIG. 2.—A fourteenth-century plotting.

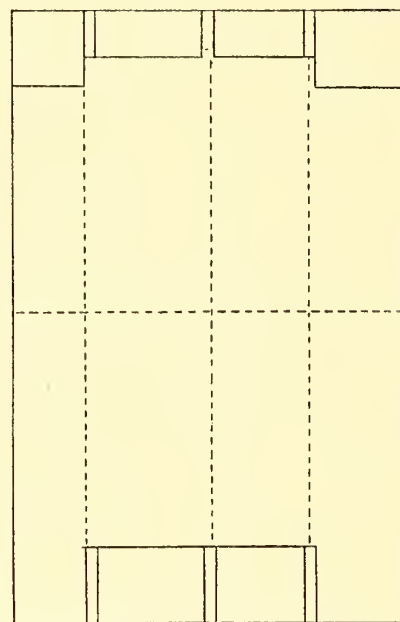


FIG. 3.—A fifteenth-century plotting.

cluded within the later set of measures is another one unnoticed in the study of the Praetorius Codex, namely, a horizontal division into upper and lower parts at an invisible line no longer dividing the upright composition in half but now placed at four-tenths of the height of the painting measured down from the top. Above this line is placed what is beyond, in landscape; or what is above, in architecture. It is at a point four-tenths of the height from the top that the line of hills springs from the side. It is at this distance from the top that edges of balconies, tops of gates, the edge of an enclosing wall, and so on, are drawn. The principal action always is placed below it; spectators above it.

The complete Shiraz canon of proportion, then, which was evolved in the third decade of the sixteenth century appears in the diagram illustrated in figure 4.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The diagram is derived from the metrical measurement of some 200 miniatures, available either as original work or in reproduction (see Appendix).



All the miniatures in the Freer Nizāmī are composed according to this canon of the mid-sixteenth century, save one: "Bahrām Gūr in the Black Pavilion" (pl. 13) which is plotted according to the late Timurid bisymmetrical system.

Within this accepted canon there was, of course, the certain amount of play inevitable to the work of different men and according to the exigencies of page illustration. Right and left are reversed; two corners instead of one, cut in; the inner square space heightened; the outer space widened or narrowed; or the frame broken to allow part of the design to escape into the margin—a device found also in Timurid work (14, cf., e.g., pls. XXXI A, XXXIX B, LXIX; 67, pl. LIII). But what holds with greatest tenacity is the horizontal dividing line, that brought

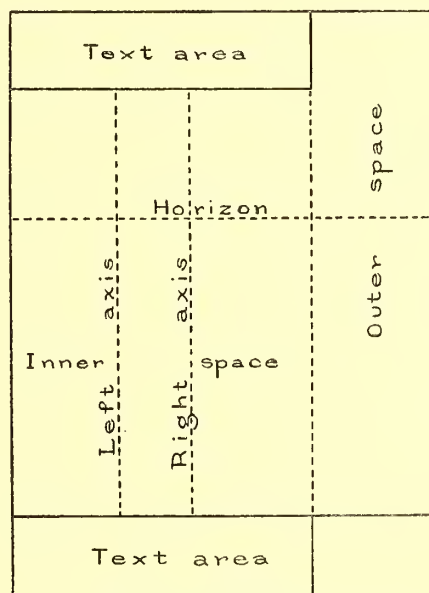


FIG. 4.—Shiraz canon.

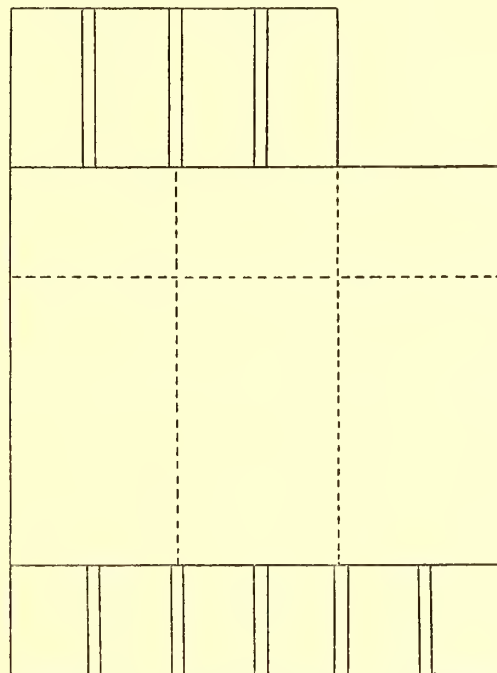


FIG. 5.—Modified Shiraz canon.

the old Timurid high horizon down to four-tenths of the height from the top. As might be expected, greater liberties were taken with the "canon" toward the end of the century when the "inner axes" were sometimes abandoned and the upright composition based on divisions of thirds. (Fig. 5.) But, even then, the horizontal division apparently kept to the same measure and even appears in the work of the Shiraz-born 'Abd al-Samad in his paintings for the Mughal court (14, cf., e.g., pl. CIV[B]), when his work had acquired a style different from that of either Shiraz or Tabriz.

Before leaving the subject of the mathematically controlled composition, it is important to emphasize its latent possibilities in suggestiveness. For example, in the scene of Bahrām slaying the dragon from a *Shāhnāma* of 1370 (fig. 6) the heroic character of the exploit is expressed in the comparative measures of the combatants. The dragon occupies the entire lower half of the composition; the

hero and his horse together the upper quarter of the space, so that his daring is matched against a monster more than four times his size. In a fifteenth-century miniature representing a visit to a hermit (fig. 7) the cave of the solitary is withdrawn into the farther quarter-section, thus emphasizing his remoteness from the outer world. In the Freer painting of the discovery of Shīrīn bathing (fig. 8), the figure of Shīrīn is placed modestly within the farther section beyond the two inner axes, while that of Khusraw is placed as far away as possible beyond the rock barrier in the first, outside area—thus creating an atmosphere of greater courtesy than is found, for example, in the bathing scene in the Philadelphia manuscript (fig. 9) where, it is true, the figure of Shīrīn is placed within the farther third division, but that of Khusraw too nearby, within the adjoining third. It is by such subtleties of design upon the plotted ground that the work of more or less sensitive men can be distinguished.

Further evidence of the existence of a "school" in Shiraz is to be found in the recurrence of characteristic details in manuscripts attested to have been written in Shiraz as well as those signed by Shiraz scribes without reference to place of work. For example, the pattern painted in gold on the inner flap of the Freer binding (pl. 1, A) occurs again and again in the design of tent-tops, and brocades. Other such details are the following:

- a. Hill edges outlined with white or lightly colored areas.<sup>6</sup>
- b. Small tree forms: the cedar, cypress, and a delicate willowlike tree predominating (fig. 10, *a, f, g*).<sup>7</sup>
- c. The ground dotted with small flower clumps or closely covered with flower shapes.
- d. Two stones of pointed oval shape, sometimes overlapping; painted with bluish and mauve inner areas having fingerlike projections pointing upward. Grasses and flowers spring up behind them or surround them (fig. 10, *b-e*).
- e. A short-necked, leaping hare, onager, deer, wild sheep, and leopard—characteristically drawn (figs. 11, *a-c*, 12, *a-d*).<sup>8</sup>
- f. Banners, pennons and lances projecting into the margin.
- g. A wall decoration of delicate sprays painted in blue on white.
- h. Carpets with small floral units and, sometimes, the Chinese cloud band, in both field and border; invariably pictured in two dimensions.<sup>9</sup>
- i. Characteristic facial types with eyes drawn with a strong black line above and below, sometimes not meeting at the outer corner and with a small dot for pupil and iris (figs. 13–14).<sup>10</sup>
- j. An extremely high jewelled aigrette worn by women with either a plain or an embroidered cap (fig. 14, *c*). (67, cf., e.g., pl. LXXVI, fig. 136; 6, pl. 33.)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 08.268, pl. 10; 08.281, pl. 23; 76, fig. 18; also the hills in certain Timurid paintings (as in 54, pl. 17 (A.D. 1426), pl. 18 (A.D. 1478); 14, pl. LXIA (now FGA 37.24)).

<sup>7</sup> For prototypes of these forms, compare those in the Istanbul *Anthology*, copied in Shiraz in 1398: 2, pp. 77–98.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pl. 2 (08.260); pl. 23 (08.281); 14, pl. XCVII (*g*); 22, pl. XI.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Schroeder, in his discussion of a miniature painted "probably in Tabriz or Qazwin about 1570–1580 or a little later," speaks of the drawing of the carpet, with its upper edge on a level with the top of the dado frieze, as a symptom of decadence. In other words, it is so slight a detail as this, which shows a careless handling of the accepted way of picturing a carpet in two dimensions with no suggestion of perspective, that helps to date the miniature at the latter end of a very conservative school. (Cf. 70, pp. 99–100, No. XVI.)

<sup>10</sup> This has been noticed also by Mr. Schroeder: *ibid.*, in his description of two early seventeenth-century Shiraz miniatures (70, p. 139, No. XXIII).

Further evidence of school work is found in the recurrence not only of certain conventions in details but also in that of scenes or parts of scenes incorporated almost without change in a new composition. A striking example is that of the cave scene in an illustration of Rustam slaying the White Div, in a Ms. of 1529,<sup>11</sup> which reappears in the unpublished Kevorkian *Shāhnāma* (see Appendix, No. 14), a composition of 1539; and in the principal group of the bath interior (cf. pl. 3) both drawn from a common stock. The Freer design of Khusraw's discovery of Shīrīn in the pool (pl. 4) occurs with but slight variations in several manuscripts that I have seen.

To the Shiraz taste for a logical and orderly composition is due the criticism of lifelessness that has been brought against the few sixteenth-century miniatures which have, so far, been attributed definitely to that place. The criticism is not wholly unfair, since the first impression they make is one of two-dimensional patterned work. But, looked at for themselves, and not in comparison with the freer work of the painters of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's court, they exhibit at their best a richness of design in both form and color, vivid characterization, exquisite craftsmanship, and often a delicate charm of sentiment. In the more sophisticated sixteenth century there are still traces of the lively imagination that distinguished so many early fifteenth-century miniatures. It was, for example, a common practice of fifteenth-century painters to animate a landscape by suggesting animal forms in drawing rock outlines; and in many Shiraz paintings of the sixteenth century this convention has developed into a skillful kind of form drawing of rocks that have the leering, grinning, or threatening faces of monsters and demons, fearful to behold. In a scene of Gayūmarth in the mountains, for example, such a treatment is peculiarly appropriate since it lends to the landscape the wild, macabre character of an untamed world (fig. 11, *d-e*).<sup>12</sup>

As it has already been said, the sixteenth-century Shiraz style which had been well established by 1525 continued without much change, varying only in the quality of individual paintings, until about 1560 or shortly after. But in the next two decades there are signs of a growing eclecticism. Amongst others, the *Khamsa* of 1584 in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, which was signed by the scribe Qāsim "in Shiraz" (see Appendix, No. 43) exemplifies in its miniatures both the conservative style of the earlier school and the modifications introduced by later painters. The scenes of the *Seven Pavilions*, are pure Shīrāzī as to composition and execution; but the greater number of the paintings show the impact of influences from without. Proportions have become more ample and while

<sup>11</sup> *Shāhnāma* of the Türk ve Islam Asarı Müzesi: 67, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 141. These in turn are evidently based upon the type scene in the great Gulistān *Shāhnāma* of 1430, reproduced in 14, pl. XLVIII B.

<sup>12</sup> 50, cf. vol. II, pl. LXXXI: *Shāhnāma*. "Calligraphié par Morchéd al-Kateb-Chirazi en 945 de l'Hégire (1539 A.D.)." Now in Kevorkian Coll., N.Y. (Appendix, No. 14). A similar treatment occurs in three other miniatures in the same codex. (Cf., also, 67, pl. LXXVIII, figs. 140-141: from the *Shāhnāma* in the Türk ve Islam Asarı Müzesi. See also 47, p. 171, No. 37, f.: *Khamsa* of Nizāmī: "copié en 950 H./1539 par Muhammad b. Qiyām al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī al-ma'rūf bi-Ḥammāmī: 24 vignettes dont celles aux f. f. 45b, 79b, 150a, 285 et 312b offrent une singularité remarquable: les rochers, pierres, arbres, etc., y sont dessinés de façon à présenter en même temps des figures d'hommes et d'animaux. Cela ne saute pas aux yeux de prime abord, mais, une fois trouvé, fait l'effet le plus comique.")

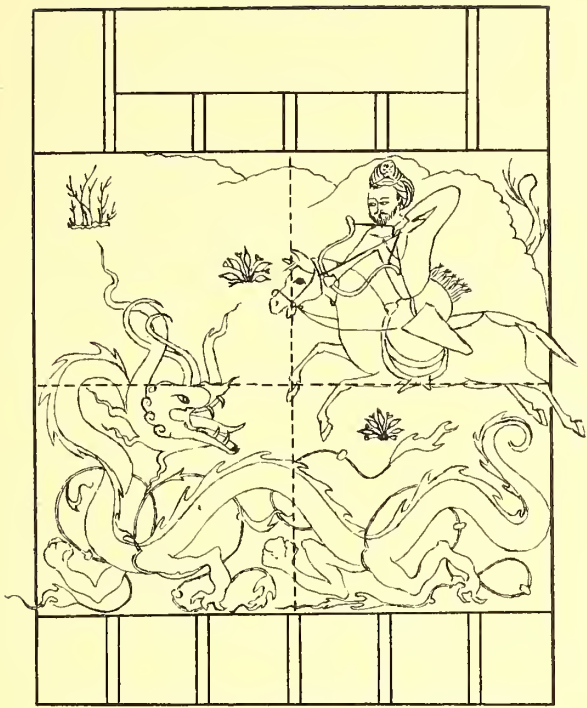
the system of inner and outer areas, upper and lower section is still used, the upright composition is divided into approximate thirds, each third the width of the outer area (fig. 9). New elements also are introduced: in architecture, oblique lines of a conventional perspective; in landscape, heavier rocks and larger tree forms, including the *chanār* in autumn foliage, so conspicuous by its absence from the earlier Shiraz paintings. (See fig. 9; also pl. 48, B.)

This survey of available miniatures from documented Shiraz manuscripts of the sixteenth century, incomplete as it must be, would seem to justify the conclusion that there was indeed an active school of painting there throughout the entire period and that it produced much work of a high degree of excellence within the limits imposed by a structural system accepted and approved by long experience. There are still hundreds of these miniatures shut away in manuscript books stored in the libraries of Oxford, London, Istanbul, Paris, and elsewhere. Their publication would help very much to illustrate further the work of this more remote and almost unregarded southern school during the sixteenth century. However, the picture that so far presents itself—from internal evidence alone—is that of groups of highly skilled craftsmen—illuminators, painters, and binders—working away quietly year after year for the span of a century or more to produce books of excellent quality no doubt intended, not for the court, but for the libraries of wealthy patrons, some of them perhaps the officials who administered the neighboring districts. In the manuscripts produced in the Shiraz workshops, with two exceptions so far noted,<sup>18</sup> only the scribes signed their work. The painters employed to illustrate them, as in Timurid times, remain unknown.

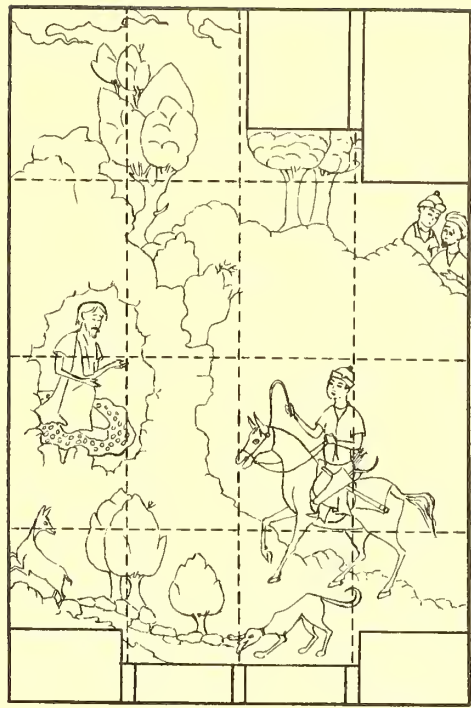
The foregoing study of Shiraz painting during the Safavid period is offered in the hope that it may shed some light upon a style which has been called "provincial" (14, c.f. p. 134, No. 151), without being localized with any degree of certainty. Shiraz would seem to have been its center and so far as this inquiry has gone, the structural system employed by Shiraz painters seems to have been uniquely theirs. But it is still a question how far mutual influences may have gone and whether, in the period under discussion, certain traditions of Shiraz were not shared by other workshops.

<sup>18</sup> a. In a Ms. of the *Duwalrāni Khidr Khān* of Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, copied by Muhammad Qivām al-Kātib of Shiraz (see Appendix, No. 36) one miniature is signed by the painter Kāfī.

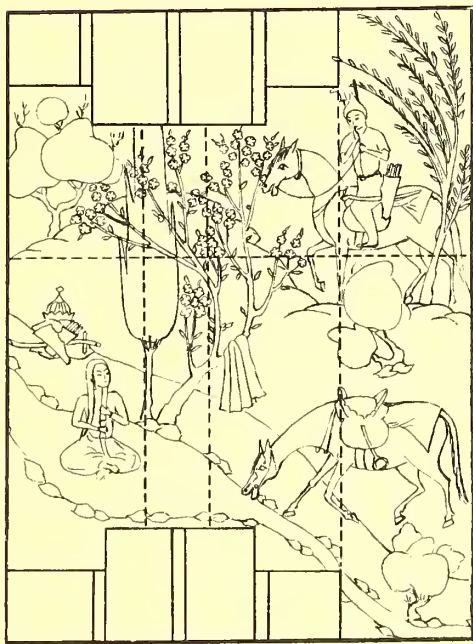
b. In a Ḥāfiz Ms. of 991 H./1583, in the Library of Cairo, copied by Hidāyat Allāh of Shiraz (Appendix, No. 42), a painting is signed by Ali b. Nizām Buland al-Dīn Ali b. Jawhār by Sulṭān Abdallah. (72, p. 147, No. XXII.)



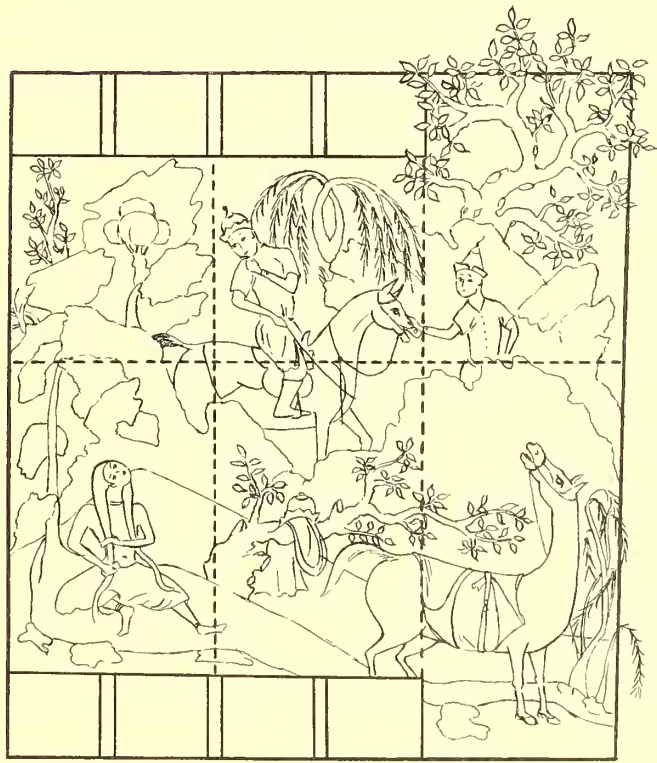
*Fig. 6*



*Fig. 7*



*Fig. 8*



*Fig. 9*

FIG. 6.—Bahrām Gūr killing a dragon. 1370. (4, fig. 5.)

FIG. 7.—Visit to a hermit. 1485. (55, fig. 20.)

FIG. 8.—Discovery of Shīrīn. 1548. FGA 08.262 (pl. 4).

FIG. 9.—Discovery of Shīrīn. 1584. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (App., No. 43).



FIG. 10.—*a-e*, Tree, plants, and stones, FGA 08.260 (pl. 2) ; *f, g*, shrubs, FGA 08.262 (pl. 4).



a



b



c



d



e

FIG. 11.—*a-c*, Characteristic animal drawings. *a, b*, FGA 08.260 (pl. 2); *c*, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 610 (App., No. 50). *d, e*, Characteristic rock forms, Kevorkian, *Shāhnāma* (App., No. 14).

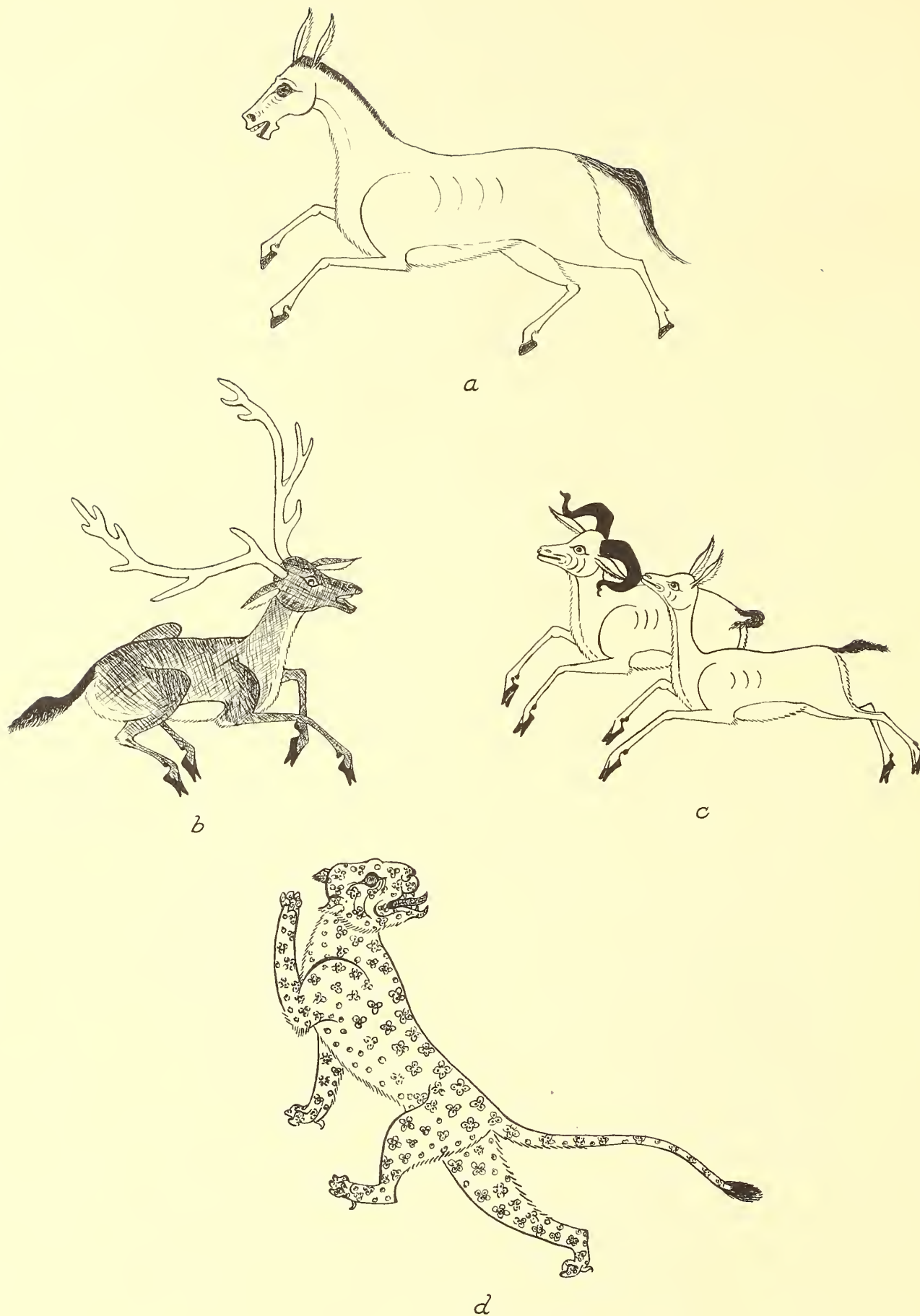


FIG. 12.—*a-d*, Characteristic animal drawings. *a, c, d*, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 610 (App., No. 50); *b*, FGA 08.270 (pl. 12).



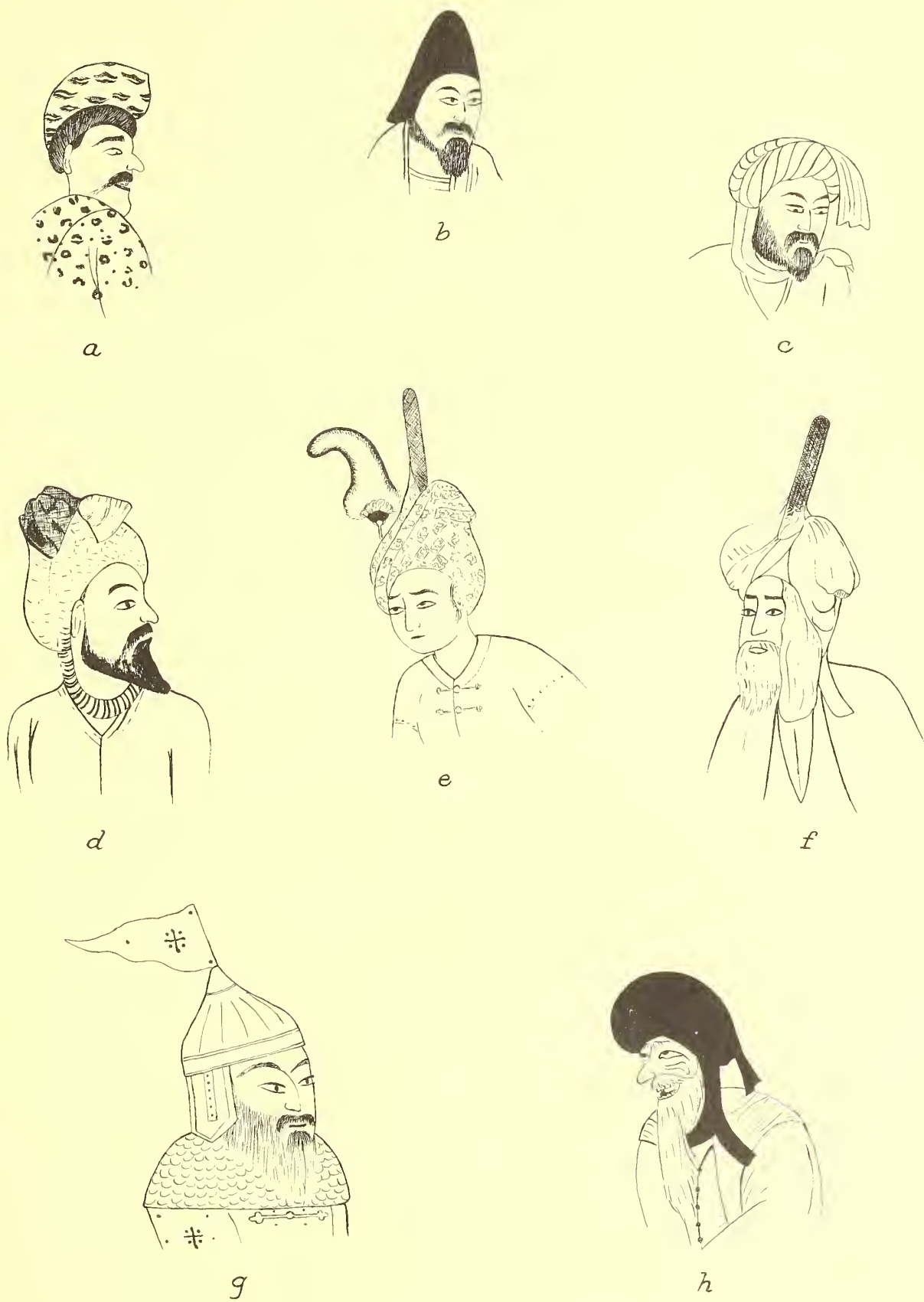


FIG. 13.—Male types. *a*, Kevorkian, *Shāhnāma* (App., No. 14); *b*, *c*, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 610 (App., No. 50); *d*, FGA 08.270 (pl. 12); *e*, FGA 08.273 (pl. 15); *f*, FGA 08.283 (pl. 25); *g*, FGA 08.279 (pl. 21); *h*, Kevorkian, *Shāhnāma* (App., No. 14).



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

FIG. 14.—Female types. *a, b*, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (App., No. 43); *c, d*, FGA 08.273 (pl. 15).

## CHAPTER II

### NOTES ON THE MINIATURES OF THE FREER MANUSCRIPT<sup>14</sup>

The 25 miniatures in our volume are distributed amongst the five books of Nizāmī's poem in the following groups:

#### I. Makhzan al-Asrār.

1. 08.260 Farīdūn hunting. Plate 2  
Opaque color and gold.  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.186 x 0.143.

The general color effect light and gay: sky, gold; ground, cream-colored; horses, chestnut, gray, and black; dog, black and white; costumes, gold-brocaded dark blue, orange, green, rose, and black; small animals and plants in neutral pinks and browns.

The title of the chapter, written in blue on a ground of foliate scrolls at the top of the page, is "The story of King Farīdūn and the gazelle" (59, cf. pp. 183 f.). Typical Shiraz details are the stones, flower clumps, trees; the leaping hares (figs. 10, 11). A similar composition with the same details is that of the hunting scene in the British Museum Nizāmī Ms., Add. 27,260; f. 335a (22, cf. pl. XI). It is apparently the work of the same hand, certainly from the Shiraz workshop. The catalogue description of the manuscript, however, gives no hint of its provenance (18, vol. II, pp. 571-572).

2. 08.261 The Caliph al-Ma'mūn and the barber. Plate 3  
Opaque color and gold.  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.190 x 0.156.

The color design is quite different from others in the set, light and yet solid. The walls are white; floor, deep cream; inner pool, green framed in a neutral rose-color. The same green fills the spaces above the arches and panels of the dado at the back, again framed in neutral rose with a base of a darker tone of the same color. The towels worn by the bathers are dark blue, light blue, green, and rose-brown; vessels and candlestick, gold.

The chapter title on the page preceding the miniatures reads: "The story of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn and the barber." The same title appears in other miniatures (14, cf., e.g., No. 136), but there is also a variant: "The story of the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid and the barber" (59, cf. pp. 243 f.; 58, pp. 110-111; 71, vol. II, pl. 78B; 74, pl. 87, figs. 1 and 2).

<sup>14</sup> These *Notes* are those of the usual records prepared for the FGA registration files in catalogue form.

The first illustration of this subject that I have found is in a Moscow Niẓāmī Ms. dated in A.D. 1490 (27, fig. 41); but the first one of importance is the well-known painting by Biḥzād, of A.D. 1494 (52, vol. II, pl. 73, BM OR. 6810).

How far such a scene could be developed is exemplified in another illustration of the same subject in a manuscript copied by our scribe Murshid in A.D. 1528, 20 years earlier than the Freer manuscript. This beautiful composition draws upon all the resources of the Shiraz painter who has plotted his design in

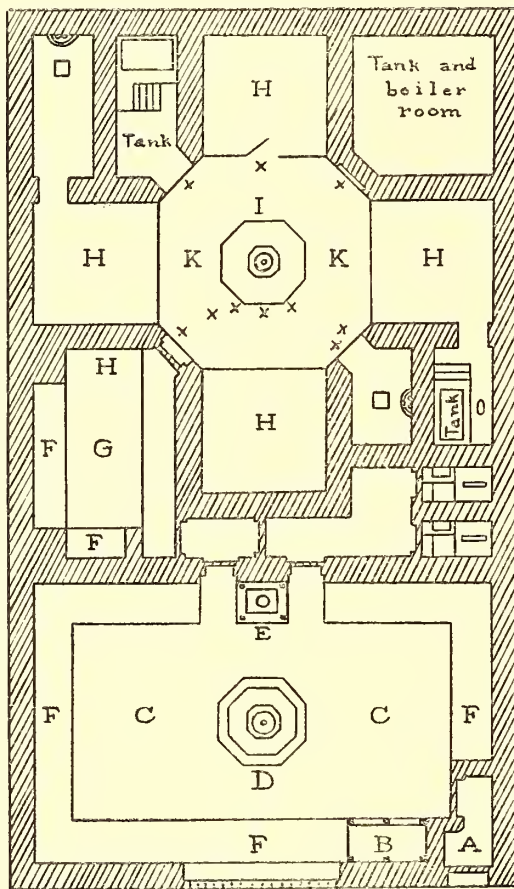


FIG. 15.—Plan of a bathhouse (*ḥammām*). From E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*.

- A. Entrance.
- B. Vestibule (station of the porter): *mu'allim*.
- C. Receiving room: *maslakh*.
- D. Cold-water fountain: *fasqīya*.
- E. Coffee stall.
- F. Platforms: *maṣṭabas*.
- G. First room (tepidarium): *bait awwal*.
- H. Alcoves: *āivāns*.
- I. Fountain.
- K. Steam room: *harāra*.

The position of persons in miniature 08.261 (pl. 3) indicated by x's.

the school manner but with greater inventiveness than is commonly shown (14, p. 132, No. 136, pl. LXXXVIII: A. Chester Beatty Coll., "The Caliph Ma'mūn having his hair shaved at the bath. ? Shīrāz.").

Another subject occasionally found among sixteenth-century paintings of *ḥammām* interiors is that of the poet Firdawsī receiving the message of Sulṭān Maḥmūd while at the public bath; while in a manuscript of Jāmī copied in 1556-1565 (FGA 46.12e) there is a lively scene in a public bath that is frankly *genre* in character.

Our own miniature belongs to a group of six closely related designs which

have enough minor variations to indicate that they were adaptations of an original composition, rather than direct copies of it. The six in question are:

- a. Sarre Collection: An outline working drawing, perforated for pouncing. (69, pl. 46.)
- b. Schulz Collection: The same design, somewhat reduced; slight variations. Dated 915–934 H./1507–27. (71, vol. I, p. 123; vol. II, Tafel 78B.)
- c. Kevorkian Collection: Nizāmi Ms. dated 943 H./1537. The same design with fewer figures (unpublished).
- d. Freer Gallery 08.261 (pl. 3): The same general design, with only slight variations in architecture and secondary figures; painted in solid color.
- e. Demotte Nizāmi Ms. "16th century": The same design. (74, pl. 87, fig. 1.) No. 21287.
- f. Demotte Nizāmi Ms. also "16th century": A derived design. (74, pl. 87, fig. 2.) No. 9.

In all these representations, the scene of the conversation between the Caliph and the barber is set in the inner room (*ḥarāra*) of the bathhouse (see Plan, fig. 15). The "constant" element is the group of the Caliph, the barber and two attendants, one carrying a candle, the other a metal bucket. The group is placed at the center of the room and, with one exception (*e* above) at the edge of an octagonal fountain. In *e*, the group is placed beyond the basin. Several bathers walk about, dip water from a tank at the rear, pour water on their heads, and so on. In our miniature, a masseur working on his client is added in the right foreground.

## II. Khusraw u-Shīrīn.

1. 08.262 Khusraw discovers Shīrīn bathing in a pool. Plate 4  
Color, gold and silver (oxidized).  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.188 x 0.139.

The principal color areas are: sky, gold; hillside, cream-color; banks of the stream, light gold-brown. Trees are in the same light brown; flowers, pinkish orange. The gamut of color in details is announced in the garments hanging on the tree at the center: green, orange, black, yellow-cream, and light brown, with touches of gold. The silver of the stream is oxidized.

The painting, so simple in its structure, exemplifies perfectly the use of the Shiraz canon in creating an orderly design, in correspondence with the sentiment of the text. Shīrīn is seated demurely in the pool, well within the inner area beyond the left inner axis, upon which is placed the cypress tree. The right inner axis runs through the center of the garments hanging on the bough of the tree. Khusraw's distance from the pool is expressed by placing him in the outer space, beyond the hill-horizon.

The episode was a favorite one for book illustration, and there are many examples extant. Its iconography was fixed from the beginning by direct illustration from the text, and no liberties seem to have been taken with it. It demanded the figures of the two principals in the romance—Shīrīn and Khusraw, their two horses and Shīrīn's traveling gear disposed nearby. A review of the published

dated miniatures of the subject reveals this strict adherence to the subject matter as well as the variations that reflect changes of style during a period of over 200 years. The following list of such miniatures is arranged in chronological order:

1. Date destroyed; probably 1410 or earlier. Tabriz.  
FGA 31.32.  
(1, pp. 479 ff.; fig. 1.)
2. 813–814 H./1410–1411. Tabriz (?).  
BM, Add. 27,261.  
(74, pl. 88, fig. 3.)
3. 823 H./1420. Shiraz.  
Berlin, Staatliche Museen.  
(14, p. 67, No. 45; 42, fig. 4; 75, Ser. O, p. 532.)
4. 851 H./1447–1448. Herat.  
MMA.  
(55, p. 38, fig. 20.)
5. 868 H./1463. Isfahan (?).  
(14, p. 93, No. 69; 71, vol. II, Tafel 44. )
6. 895 H./1490.  
BM, OR. 2834.  
(74, pl. 88, fig. 4.)
7. Undated, ca. 1493. Bihzād, attr. to.  
BM, Add. 25,900.  
(51, vol. I, fig. 25. [Ms. dated as of 1442; miniatures of later date.] )
8. 946–949 H./1539–1543. Tabriz. Sulṭān Muḥammad, attr. to.  
(13, p. 17 seq., pl. VII; 66, vol. III, p. 1875, vol. V, pl. 898.)
9. 955 H./1548.  
FGA 08.262 (pl. 4).
10. Undated; ca. 1545 (?).  
BM, Add. 27,260.  
(App., No. 48; pl. 33, A.)
11. Sixteenth century.  
Munich, Staatsbibl.  
(43, p. 51, fig. 20.)
12. Sixteenth century, late.  
Collection Ducoté.  
(44, pl. 68; 50, vol. II, pl. LXV.)
13. 992 H./1584.  
University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.  
(14, vol. II, No. 223) unreproduced. (See fig. 9.)
14. 1034 H./1624.  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.  
(37, fig. 276.)
15. 1042 H./1632.  
V-A, by Rizā ‘Abbāsī.  
(7, No. XXXVIII (1921), p. 59 seq., pl. I, B.)

A comparison of these designs reveals that it is the figure of Shīrīn that is not only predominant in interest but also that it is the one that conforms most closely to traditional treatment. From the beginning of the fifteenth to the middle of the

sixteenth century she is invariably pictured seated demurely, in a shallow pool, with her bathing cloth wrapped about her, wringing the water from her hair, quite unaware of the approaching horseman. In later miniatures (cf. Nos. 11, 12, 14 above) her attitude is drawn in the freer style then in vogue, but the essentials of modesty and unawareness remain. The figure of secondary interest is that of Khusraw, who has come up behind her and who observes her with astonishment from beyond a barrier of rocks. Khusraw's presentment changes only with the change in headgear—from the cap or helmet of an earlier time to the most elaborate of Safavid turbans (cf. No. 8 above).

Interesting variants are to be found in the figure of Shīrīn's black horse, Shabdīz. In Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 his head alone is introduced as necessary to the story, and arranged in a formal balance to the head of Khusraw's horse, which appears beyond the rock barrier. But in No. 4, dated in the middle of the fifteenth century, the painter was inspired to give the horse Shabdīz an active participation in the scene. He lifts his head, whinnying to the newcomer and so startles his mistress that, as the story goes, she prepares for hasty departure. In two miniatures of 1490 and 1539–1543 (Nos. 6 and 8 above) the figure of Shabdīz standing near his mistress is drawn in full, but it is only in the latter that he turns his head to recognize the horse of Khusraw, a gesture that is repeated—less successfully—in the late sixteenth-century painting (No. 12 above). The first time that the horse of Shīrīn is treated naturalistically, quite apart from participation in the human drama, is in the very charming miniature of the British Museum Ms. Add. 25,900, attributed to Bihzād (No. 7 above). Here he appears as a white horse grazing quietly beside the stream where his mistress sits. He is similarly shown in the sixteenth-century painting in Munich (No. 11 above) of the Bihzād school. In our own miniature (No. 9 above) the black horse is drinking from the stream that flows from the bathing pool. Two others with a similar representation of Shabdīz are found in an unpublished Nizāmī manuscript in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.610); and in a manuscript belonging to H. Kevorkian, which was copied in Asterabad in 1509–1510, but apparently illustrated by a Shiraz painter much later (pl. 37, B).

Another element in the design that has two main variants is the clothing of Shīrīn, who started upon her long and solitary journey dressed as a young prince. In the earliest examples (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 above) it is shown placed in a neat pile with her helmet or crown on the top. In the Shiraz Ms. of 1420 (No. 3 above) the bow case and full quiver are hung on a tree with the pile of clothing at the foot; in the British Museum Ms. of 1490 (No. 6 above) the clothing, for the first time in the series, is hung from the branch of a tree, with the riding boots placed beneath. Later the practice varies. In the Herat school miniatures of ca. 1493 and 1539–1543 (Nos. 7 and 8 above) the clothing is hung in the fork of the tree, while in our own both conventions are employed. From the branch of the tree in the center hang several garments with a pair of green riding boots standing below. On the bank beyond is a pile of manly accoutrements—cloak, sword, bow case, and quiver—with the crown-helmet on the top. In the Munich painting of the six-

teenth century (No. 11 above) the clothing is once more heaped on the ground, boots placed beside it; while in the seventeenth century (Nos. 14 and 15 above) the garments are hanging in the tree, but lacking, I should say, in any conviction of draughtsmanship, having degenerated into the merest convention.

One more detail of our miniature is worth noting. In the other illustrations cited Shīrīn seems to be wringing her hair, or merely holding its strands. In our miniature, she is using a comb of gold.

2. 08.263 The battle between the forces of Khusraw and Bahrām Chūbīn. Plate 5

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.170 x 0.140.

The scene is painted against a mountain background, with no sky visible. Against the unpainted paper, the small color areas of the many figures are spotted about in black, white, brown, red, harsh orange, a vivid green, deep blue, light blue, and pink, with accents of gold. The banners above the frame are of green and orange, brocaded with gold.

This miniature and one other in the volume (08.279, q.v.) which pictures a battle between the forces of Alexander and those of the Zangīs are obviously the work of the same man, who may have been a specialist in battle scenes.<sup>15</sup> The composition, the figure drawing, and the palette employed sets them apart from other miniatures in the volume.<sup>16</sup> The illustration includes the figure of Buzurg-ūmīd, the old tutor and counsellor of Khusraw Parvīz, who waits beside the prince's elephant holding the astrolabe which had marked the auspicious moment to join battle.

It may also be noted that the large banners projecting into the margin are similar to those on a miniature illustrated in the *Survey*, (66, vol. V, pl. 857 B), from a *Garshāspnāma* of Asadī "written in Shiraz in 800 H. (1398)" 150 years before our *Khamṣa*. Similarly proportioned banners are represented in the Shiraz Ms. of 1420 in Berlin (14, No. 45, pl. XXXVII B) and in the *Shāhnāma* copied at Shiraz about 1420, Bodelian, Ouseley Add. 176 (14, XL, No. 46). While our own miniature is so much later than these, it has reminiscences of their style and suggests the direct line of descent from earlier Shiraz work.

3. 08.264 Shīrīn mounted on her horse carried on the shoulders of Farhād. Plate 6

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.191 x 0.140.

The principal color areas are: sky, gold; hillside, pink; meadow, light gold-

<sup>15</sup> That certain painters were specialists in battle scenes is pointed out by Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray. (14, p. 83.)

<sup>16</sup> For help in judgment of the aesthetic quality of our battle scenes (08.263, 08.279) compare the following scenes of superior quality: 14, pl. LXXII, No. 84. Attr. to Bihzād, ca. 1490: pl. XCIV, No. 166; Tabriz, ca. 1530-1540.



brown; stone platform, cream; conduit, darker brown. The rocks of the "outside area" at the right are cream-colored, tinged with rose at the edges. The horses are black, chestnut, and gray; costumes, green-orange, brown, yellow, and white. The painting is probably by the same hand as 08.260 and 08.262.

The episode illustrated is that of the visit of Shīrīn to the solitary sculptor working on the mountain. The chestnut horse, Gulgūn, having been missing from his stall when she set forth, she had taken another horse. On the stony mountain, the horse cast a shoe and the strong Farhād then lifted horse and rider to his shoulders and strode down the mountain side.

The subject is represented from time to time from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, but less often than the Shīrīn bathing subject. It may be that its appeal was not so general, and it also may be that it was rather difficult to handle. The problem of placing the high compound form of Farhād with the horse on his shoulders, and Shīrīn seated on the horse, within a landscape setting of necessarily limited size was not an easy one. Neither was it easy to make a convincing drawing of a man walking carrying such an active weight. However, there are several such miniatures in dated Mss. as follows:

1. 853 H./1449-1450 "suggest Shiraz school."  
MMA  
(55, fig. 21.)
2. 868 H./1463.  
(71, vol. II, 39.)
3. Sixteenth century, early (?).  
BM—Turkish Ms., OR. 2708-Shaykhi (author).  
(8, pl. 94.)  
NOTE: Caption gives, "Probably of the latter part of XV century." One of the on-lookers, however, wears an undeniable Safavid turban.
4. 955 H./1548.  
FGA 08.264 (pl. 6).
5. Undated "ca. 1550."  
Ardabil Shrine, Persia.  
(14, No. 211, pl. CI B.)

A comparative study of these designs reveals that our own (No. 4 above) while the most elaborate in composition is the least dramatic. In the Metropolitan Museum miniature of the middle fifteenth century (No. 1 above), there is the expression of a fresh imagination. In contrast to the assurance and pride of Farhād is the shrinking apprehension of Shīrīn, an expression shared by her horse. In our own miniature, as in others of the sixteenth century, an imaginative projection of the performance has given way to a sophisticated illustration of a favorite story. The scene in our painting has become a pageant, the principals of the scene being accompanied, or observed, by groups of Shīrīn's women mounted and beautifully attired, with jewelled aigrettes in their caps, and preceded by an officer of the court. Nothing could be in stronger contrast to the solitariness of, for example, the 1463 miniature (No. 2 above) where the only observers are two men at a distance and the shy antelopes among the rocks.

An interesting element in our design is that of the conduit supported in the center by an arch of masonry, which Farhād had constructed through the mountains.

4. 08.265 Shīrīn grants an audience to Khusraw. Plate 7  
 Opaque color and gold.  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
 Painting: 0.191 x 0.140.

The color composition is not particularly happy. The sky is blue, the hillside gold; while the tower and garden scene have rather unpleasant combinations of greens, light red-violet, yellow-orange, red, and dark blue, with a liberal use of gold. The carpet is of a typical Shiraz pattern.

The composition, like the others in the series, is based on the Shiraz canon, but in this case, since the interview is taking place in a pavilion erected in the garden, the principal figure, that of Shīrīn enthroned, is placed in the outside area; while the tower, representing her castle, is set within the inner area.

The scene pictured is that of the audience finally granted by Shīrīn to Khusraw, who had so displeased her that she had withdrawn to her castle in Armenia. Khusraw, hoping to win back her favor, had gone to the neighborhood of her castle on the pretext of a hunting expedition. The text says that Khusraw shook like an old man in her presence. (For this story as retold by Shaykhī, see 32, vol. I, p. 323.)

The episode is rarely illustrated. Another interpretation of the scene is, however, found in a Ms. of 1485, in a miniature attributed to Bihzād (14, No. 78, pl. LXII) which is far more subtle in feeling than this one of ours. In that scene, Shīrīn, now queen of Armenia, attended by her women, stands in a gentle attitude awaiting Khusraw within the throne room, but the throne is empty. Khusraw is seen in the foreground approaching the entrance to the room with some shyness, as if uncertain still of his reception. In comparison with that miniature our own is quite lifeless.

5. 08.266 Khusraw and Shīrīn holding a feast at night in a Plate 8  
 desert encampment.  
 Opaque color and gold.  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
 Painting: 0.191 x 0.148.

The sky is dark blue, studded with gold stars; the distant hillside, pinkish mauve. A fine balance of warm and cool color is maintained in the larger areas: the tent lining at the left, a clear blue; the closed tent at the right, a warm light brown, patterned in red-orange with an orange border under the striped flap at the top, both areas relieved by the solid white of the *yurt* tops. The carpet repeats the warm tones of the pavilion at the right; the immediate foreground, the mauve of the hillside: all these colors are repeated in the costumes, with the addition of green. The door of the pavilion and vessels, etc., are of gold.

The episode illustrated is that of a visit of reconciliation made by Shīrīn to the hunting camp of Khusraw, following his unsuccessful attempt to overcome her displeasure at his treatment of the unhappy Farhād and his subsequent unfaithfulness to her. At the camp she is met by the constant friend Shāpūr who, at her request, hides her in a pavilion in which he induces the king to hold a feast. At the singing of a song by the harpist Nigīsā, Shīrīn betrays her presence by a deep sigh, the curtain is pulled back and the two lovers are in each other's presence. [32, vol. I, pp. 323 f., in which the narrative is condensed from Shaykhī's Turkish rendering of Niẓāmī's poem. According to Gibb, that was a fairly close translation of the Persian original (32, vol. I, p. 306).]

A question, so far unanswerable, is raised by the representation of the large tent in both this painting and in the Lailā-Majnūn miniature 08.270, by the same hand. How does it happen that these two tents so closely resemble those in two encampment scenes by Mīr Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and in another by Mīrak of the same school? These date from very shortly before the time of our own—from ca. 1540 and from 1539–1543 (cf. 66, vol. V, pls. 909 and 910; 13, pl. VIII). They are alike in showing the same tent lining of some broad-striped blue cloth, patterned with medallions, and all five differ from other tents of the same general period in this detail of the tent lining. (Cf., e.g., 66, vol. V, pl. 907; 71, vol. II, pl. 142; 8, pls. 52 B and 64). It may be thought that our painter was a pupil of the Tabriz masters, but not only is he contemporaneous but his paintings are quite different in style from those of Tabriz. It may be, of course, that material of this type was as commonly used for tent cloth as striped canvas is used today for awnings everywhere.

### III. Lailā and Majnūn.

1. 08.267 The youthful Qais (Majnūn) and Lailā at school. Plate 9  
Opaque color and gold.  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.189 x 0.152.

While the composition is developed according to the usual Shiraz method, its proportions, owing perhaps to the added height given to it by the minaret which reaches to the top of the page, differ slightly from those of the strict Shiraz canon. The outer area, for example, instead of being four-tenths of the width of the text area, is about five-tenths of that measure, still further extended in two corner projections. That greater width, however, gives more solidity to the composition than the usual proportions would have given.

The color is pleasant and well distributed. Typical of Shiraz are the small-patterned carpets, cushions, and frescoes; the facial types and, to be noted wherever they occur, the high aigrettes which are worn by several of the maidens.

2. 08.268 Lailā and her maidens in the grove of palms. Plate 10  
Opaque color, gold, and silver (oxidized).  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.169 x 0.135.

The color design, while not very subtle, is yet agreeable. The sky is gold, with Chinese cloud forms, gray-blue and white; the field, green; the hill-horizon edged with solid areas of cream-color; palm trees, red; scattered flowers, red and white; the stream, once silver, now blackened by oxidization; costumes, cream-color, yellow, gray-blue, clear blue, dark blue, orange-red, and dark red.

The composition of this charming miniature is plotted strictly according to the Shiraz canon. The two palm trees toward the left are placed on the two inner axes, and between them is the figure of Lailā, dressed in cream-color and yellow; the third palm tree is so placed that its fruit falls just within the line that divides the inner from the outer space. The figures of the maidens are rhythmically disposed in the green field.

The device of edging the hills with broad bands of white or cream-color is one more commonly found in fifteenth-century work than later, although when it does occur, in the sixteenth century, it is apparently in paintings of the Shiraz school. (Cf., e.g., 14, pl. LXII A, 1478; pl. LXI A, second half of fifteenth century; 76, fig. 18, A.D. 1546, Shiraz.)

The subject is seldom illustrated, perhaps because it is more in the nature of an interlude than of an event. Lailā with her companions had gone to the grove of palms for pleasure, but there she was saddened by thought of her absent lover. (57, ch. VII, pp. 46 ff.)

3. 08.269 Nawfal, the Arab chief, champions Majnūn's cause in battle. Plate 11

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.168 x 0.140.

The painting, while conforming to the Shiraz canon in its plotted proportions, is very spirited in action and in color. The sky is a strong, clear blue; the earth, rose-colored. A double pennon of black dotted with gold and of vivid green flies at the left; an orange banner at the right. These colors, with the addition of white, yellow-cream, and brown are skillfully distributed throughout the composition.

The episode which involved the Arab tribes of Nawfal, friend of Majnūn, and of the father of Lailā has been illustrated fairly often. The battle takes place in a desert landscape, the Arab warriors are mounted on camels and the friends of Lailā on horses.

4. 08.270 The last meeting of Lailā and Majnūn. Plate 12

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.190 x 0.146.

The painting is obviously by the same hand as the tent scene 08.266 (pl. 8) but less successful in color. The sky is gold, the hillside cream-color, and the foreground pinkish in tone. The tents, set into three fields, are strong blue, white,

and red in their principal areas. The two-dimensional treatment of the figures is so marked that they have the appearance of paper dolls, entirely without dramatic appeal. Characteristic details are those of the plants, the animals, the small-patterned carpet, and the aigrettes in the women's caps.

#### IV. Haft Paikar.

1. 08.271 Bahrām Gūr visits the princess of India in the Black Pavilion on Saturday. . . . Plate 13

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.218 (extreme) x 0.101.

The color of this miniature is deep and rich, developed in black and dark tones of blue, blue-green, and red with touches of gold. In structure it is very solid, plotted in the fifteenth-century manner on a central axis. In this it is different from the others of the set, as well as in the scale employed. The drawing of the figures and their rhythmical arrangement is admirable.

The subjects of the visits made by king Bahrām to the seven princesses of the seven pavilions is apparently a favorite one for illustration and draws upon the resources of the painter to create different color-designs within the strict limitations demanded by the text, since each day a ceremonial visit is repeated in a similar setting. In the present set, the work of three different men is evident:

- a. Painter A: the Black Pavilion (pl. 13).
- b. Painter B: the Green and Blue Pavilions (pls. 15, 17).
- c. Painter C: the Yellow, Red, Sandal-colored, and White Pavilions (pls. 14, 16, 18, 19).

Of its symbolism, C. E. Wilson writes: "The *Haft Paikar* is more intimately connected with Şufiism than any other work of the Five Poems (*Khamsa*) except the *Makhzanu 'l-Asrār*. It depicts, as far as the esoteric sense is concerned, the progress of the soul through the seven stages and steps symbolized by the seven colors which were supposed to belong to the spheres of the seven planets." (56, vol. I, pp. xvii-xviii.) In other words, within the surface narrative lies a second meaning, expressed in astrological terminology; but this second meaning may be, in turn, resolved into a wholly religious conception: "It is God who hath created seven heavens and as many earths [i.e., planets]; the divine command descendeth between them: that ye may know that God is omnipotent and that God comprehendeth, all things by His knowledge." (40, *Sūra LXV*, p. 455; 41, Part II, p. 290.)

This mystic itinerary (*safar*) to God is, of course, differently analyzed by different Şufi sects and teachers—sometimes embracing a dozen stages and steps (29, *Taşawwuf*), sometimes seven, as in the list given by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner: *The Way of a Mohammedan Mystic* (reprinted in 56, vol. I, p. xviii). By combining these stages with the seven days of Nizāmī each with its appropriate color, planet, and clime, we can have at least a suggestion of the association of

mystic theology with what is, to the casual and uninstructed reader, only a romantic poem. They would be, according to Nizāmī, as follows:

1st stage:

- a) The Soul depraved; a dark veil between Deity and man in his undisciplined state.
- b) Black—Saturn—Saturday—India.

2nd stage:

- a) The Soul self-accusatory, beginning to awake.
- b) Yellow—Sun—Sunday—China.

3rd stage:

- a) The Soul inspired.
- b) Silvery green—Moon—Monday—Khwārazm.

4th stage:

- a) The Soul tranquil.
- b) Red—Mars—Tuesday—Russia.

5th stage:

- a) The Soul God-satisfied.
- b) Turquoise blue—Mercury—Wednesday—Maghrib.

6th stage:

- a) The Soul God-satisfying.
- b) Sandal-wood color—Jupiter—Thursday—Rūm (Byzantium).

7th stage:

- a) The Soul wholly purified—at one with God.
- b) White—Venus—Friday—Iran.

The associations of color with planet seem to be invariable as they are found in Persian literature—those with a certain day less so, since in some works the first stage is referred to the Moon and the First Day; the second stage to Mercury and the Second Day and so on [56, vol. I, p. xviii], but it is in the assignment of a certain color and planet to each one of the seven climes, and the identification of a particular country with a particular clime that there appears to be the greatest variation.

In the first place, the term “The Seven Climes” has different meanings, whether *Haft Iqlīm* (Gr. *Klima*) or *Haft Kishwar*, “Seven Regions.” The former refers to the seven latitudinal divisions established by Ptolemy, from south to north above the Equator, based upon the length of the longest day in each. [See 29, *Iqlīm*.] The latter term, the “Seven Regions,” had its source in Persia itself, and derived from an ancient concept of the habitable world, with Iran at its center, surrounded by six other *Kishwar* or regions, the whole enclosed in the Stream of Ocean. So that by the words *Haft Kishwar* there was really meant the whole world. It is in that sense that it is used by Firdawsī, who, according to his English translators, followed the old Iranian cosmogony (30, vol. I, pp. 71–72). He repeatedly uses such expressions as in the salutation: “Ever live, O Shah—of all seven climes the king” (id., vol. III, p. 290). The identity of each one of these Seven Climes varies with different authorities, India being more con-

stant than the others. According to Wilson (56, vol. I, p. xix), Nizāmī follows a system of his own. The following table suggests some of the variations of climate:

	Wilson (quoting <i>Burhān-i- Qāṭi'</i> , 56, vol. II, Nos. 207, 1146, 1147).	Browne (20, vol. II, p. 409).	Binyon (13, pp. 27-28).	Jackson- Yohannan (53, p. 52).
1. Saturn— black— Saturday.	India	India	India	India
2. Sun— yellow— Sunday.	Iraq and Khurāsān	China	Maghrib	China ?
3. Moon— green— Monday.	Hyperborean regions	Khwārazm	Tatary	Khwārazm
4. Mars— red— Tuesday.	Turkistān	Russia	Russia	Russia
5. Mercury— blue— Wednesday.	Rūm (Asia Minor)	Iran	Khwārazm	Iran
6. Jupiter— sandal color— Thursday.	China and Khaṭā	Rūm	China	Maghrib
7. Venus— white— Friday.	Transoxiana	Maghrib	Rūm	Rūm

2. 08.272 Bahrām Gūr visits the princess of the Yellow Pavilion on Sunday. Plate 14

Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).

Paper: 0.309 x 0.196.

Painting: 0.191 x 0.130.

The color of the Yellow Pavilion miniature is very fine. The sky is blue, broken by white cloud forms; the pavilion itself illuminated in gold; while the foreground, and the figures, are in tones of yellow from cream-color to brown. Dishes, flacons, and musical instruments are in gold; the stream in the garden was once silver. Flowering branches repeat the white of clouds.

In this miniature, as in the three others of the group assigned to him, Painter C has employed a basic design very different in composition and in scale from the two pavilion scenes by Painter B. In his four paintings, plotted strictly according to the Shiraz canon, the domed pavilion is set within the inner area, on a paved terrace enclosed by an open fence with a gateway at one side; beyond, a garden with cypresses and flowering trees. The pattern of all four is essentially the same, whether the position on *recto* or *verso* page directs the inner area to the right or to the left; but there are variations in the placing of the twelve figures in each scene

and in minor details. The four miniatures of this group are distinguished by the exquisite craftsmanship of the painter, working on so minute a scale. The question arises in one's mind, however: How far down a diminishing scale can psychological interest be sustained? There seems to be some instinctive limitation put upon the size of figures relative to their environment, below which they lose a corresponding measure of interest as human beings. In book illustration, with proportions already established by the size and shape of the page, variations in relative size come under close observation. I venture to say that—using the standing figure as a unit of measure—those less than one-third the height of the painting are getting below the line of psychological interest unless the painter has been able to infuse them with a compensating vitality. In the present set of four, the standing figure unit is less than one-fifth the height of the painting and charming as they are, they can hardly be said to be charged with vitality.

3. 08.273 Bahrām Gūr visits the princess of the Green Pavilion on Monday. Plate 15  
 Color and gold.  
 Paper: 0.309 x 0.197.  
 Painting: 0.255 (extreme) x 0.147.

The Green Pavilion is painted in an all-over tone of yellow-green, or green-yellow heightened by gold in the spandrils of the arches, the frame of panels, border of the rug, flagons, and so on.

The composition is the first of the two attributed to Painter B, who, while he used the Shiraz method of plotting his composition, developed it very differently from his two colleagues. In both paintings, the dome rises above the framed rectangle into the marginal space; the outside area is occupied by towers, the scale is larger. But Painter B appears to be a man of only ordinary competence working in a traditional manner, whose miniatures lack either the richness and solidity of A's work or the delicacy and elegance of C's. The Shiraz carpet is typical; and the high aigrettes.

4. 08.274 Bahrām Gūr visits the Russian princess in the Red Pavilion on Tuesday. Plate 16  
 Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.196.  
 Painting: 0.190 x 0.134.

The sky is gold and the pavilion a clear orange-red and dark red outside; light red-violet, neutral orange, and gold inside. The terrace is painted in neutral red-violet; costumes in reds, orange-yellow, and cream-color; cypresses in low neutral green; a Chinese cloud form in gray and white; small areas of gold, red, and white repeated: the whole creating a harmonious color design predominantly red and gold.

5. 08.275 Bahrām Gūr goes on Wednesday to the Turquoise Pavilion. Plate 17  
 Color and gold.  
 Paper: 0.308 x 0.191.  
 Painting: 0.254 (extreme) x 0.147.



In this miniature, Painter B has used the same formula as in the Green Pavilion miniature, with positions reversed from right to left. The prevailing color is a strong turquoise-blue in different values, lighted by areas of gold and with two contrasting rectangles in light and dark neutral rose. Costumes are of different shades of turquoise, the caps white, with gold aigrettes; the faces repeating the pinkish color of the rose panels.

6. 08.276 Bahrām Gūr visits the Sandal-colored Pavilion Plate 18  
on Thursday.

Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.191 x 0.135.

The sky is gold; the pavilion painted in tones of light, neutral brown, deep cream-color with a darker red-brown; inner panels are framed in gold. The terrace is in a brownish pink; the figures in creams and browns. Touches of gray are in the Chinese cloud form, in tree trunks and women's caps, some of the latter ornamented with the high aigrette. The impression given by the whole is of an extremely subtle and charming color composition.

7. 08.277 Bahrām Gūr visits the White Pavilion on Friday. Plate 19

Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.181 x 0.136.

The painting is a little masterpiece of the miniaturist's art. The sky is gold; the garden distance, a neutral pinkish tone; the cypresses, a neutral gold-brown. Against this background stands the pavilion painted in variable whites with minute touches of gold. The terrace, the figures, and small details are painted in cream-color, gray, soft pink, light blue, and white; but the total impression is one of whiteness.

#### V. The Iskandar-nāma.

1. 08.278 The ascent of the Prophet called "The Night Plate 20  
Journey" (*Mi'rāj*).

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.190 x 0.141.

The color design is very fine, limited to dark blue and gold; with small areas of orange, yellow, and green beautifully distributed. While it falls short of the great *Mi'rāj* painted in Tabriz in 1539-1543 (BM OR. 2265) in imaginative power, it is still a worthy expression of a great conception. It is unmistakably of the sixteenth century, and yet, like other miniatures in the same book, it carries a reminiscence of an earlier time—in this instance, in representing the Prophet with an unveiled face.

A review of available representations of Muhammad reveals that from the earliest ones, which date from the fourteenth century when book painting was

infused with the historic spirit, throughout the fifteenth century, he was almost invariably pictured with an unveiled face. But in the sixteenth century and later, his face and finally his entire figure was concealed, history having yielded to pietism.

The following list of representations of the Prophet is suggestive of that change:

## 14TH CENTURY

<i>Unveiled</i>	<i>Veiled</i>
707 H./1307–1308: al-Birūnī Ms. Edinburgh Univ. Libr. (6, pl. XVIII b.; 8, pl. 39.)	
707–14 H./1314: <i>Jāmi' al-Tawārikh</i> Ms. Edinburgh Univ. Libr., London, Royal Asiatic Society. (66, vol. V, pl. 828 B.; 6, pls. XIX, XX, LIII; 51, vol. II, pl. 29 A.)	
Early 14th c.: <i>Shāhnāma</i> . FGA 29.26 A.	

## 15TH CENTURY

<i>Unveiled</i>	<i>Veiled</i>
Ca. A.D. 1410–1420: <i>Kalīla wa-Dimna</i> . Teheran: Gulistān Palace. (14, pl. XXXIV B, No. 44 c.)	853 H./1449–1450: Nizāmī Ms. MMA. (53, p. 51.) [Veil may be a later ad- dition.]
839 H./1436: <i>Mi'rāj-nāma</i> . Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (16, pls. XXXIV-XXXVII; 6, pl. XXXV b.; 66, vol. V, pl. 877.)	15th century: Moses and 'Uj miniature, detail of. Samad Khan Coll. (66, vol. V, pl. 852.)
890 H./1485: Mir Ali Shīr Nawā'i Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Libr. (6, pl. XXII; 14, pl. LXIII B, No. 79 b.)	

## 16TH CENTURY

<i>Unveiled</i>	<i>Veiled</i>
951 H./1544: Line drawing. Istanbul, Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi. (14, pl. XCV, No. 174.)	940 H./1533: Jāmi Ms. Cairo, Egypt. Libr. (14, pl. XCII A, No. 152.)
955 H./1548: Nizāmī Ms. FGA 08.278 (pl. 20).	946–49 H./1539–1543: Nizāmī Ms. BM. (13, pl. XIV). 972 H./1565: Jāmi Ms. (unpubl.). FGA, 46.12z.  16th c. Demotte Coll. (37, fig. 257.)  16th c. FGA, 31.31.

16TH CENTURY—*Continued**Unveiled**Veiled*

- 974 H./1567: Nizāmī Ms.  
C. Beatty Coll.  
(14, No. 206.)
- 16th c. Turkish.  
Goloubew Coll.  
(50, vol. II, pl. LXV; 33, pl. LXI.)
- 992 H./1584: *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī.  
University Museum; University of  
Pennsylvania; Near Eastern Ptgs.  
No. 33 (unpubl.).
- 1003 H./1595: Mirkhwānd Ms.  
Luzac & Co., London.  
(6, pl. XXI.)

## LATER THAN 16TH CENTURY

- 18th c. (6, pl. LVI b).  
18th c. (6, pl. XXXV a).  
1171 H./1757: (6, pl. LV d).  
FGA Ms. *Ḥamla-i-Haidarī*. 07.272.

But, that the same painter may have followed one practice at one time, and another at another time—working perhaps for a more, or less, orthodox patron, as the case might be—is suggested by the comparison of our painting with one executed 15 years earlier (940 H./1533) which almost certainly is the work of the same man. The latter, belonging to the Bibliothèque Égyptienne and reproduced by Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray (14, pl. XCII A), is one of those sixteenth-century representations listed among the “veiled Prophet” series. Whether or not the veil is original, or a later addition, is impossible to tell without seeing the original.

The stylistic similarity of the two paintings is very striking. In both instances the painter bases his composition upon the Shiraz canon of proportions, in which the text areas control the vertical framework, and an invisible line at four-tenths of the entire height from the top separates the composition into higher and lower spheres. In both the painter has kept his principal figure of the Prophet mounted on Burāq surrounded by a flame-halo, within the inner area, i.e., between the text areas. But, owing to the greater depth of the upper text area in the Cairo painting, these figures are forced down near the center of the composition, thereby losing altitude, so to speak. The sense of high flight is more successfully achieved in our own.

2. 08.279 Alexander (Iskandar) in battle with the Zangī. Plate 21  
Opaque color and gold.  
Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
Painting: 0.180 x 0.136.

The composition is ordered according to the accepted Shiraz method, with the figures of the two leaders placed in the upper section, *hors de combat*: Alexander mounted on a fully caparisoned horse, the housing striped with gold; the King of Zang seated in a howdah upon the back of an elephant. A green pennon is carried by the companion of Alexander; an orange flag with streamer flies over the Zangī. The conflict is pictured in the lower area, painted in bright orange, green, blue, brown, yellow, and gold on the neutral ground. The patch of sky is blue.

By Zangī is meant a black people—descendants of Ham. According to Steingass (73, p. 627), the term refers to Egyptians, Moors, or Negroes. In the Clarke translation of the *Iskandar-nāma*, however (60), it is the Egyptians who complain of the Zangī to Alexander, who makes war upon them. In his notes, the author quotes Ouseley (61, p. 160, note 1) as to the boundaries of Zang: north by Yemen; south by deserts; east by Nubia; west by Ḥabsh [Abyssinia]. Making allowances for the inexactness of poetical geography, this would, roughly, place "Zang" in eastern Abyssinia or, perhaps, British Somaliland. On page 200, note 242: "Habsh and Zang are two different countries. The people of Habsh (Abyssinia) are said to be a tribe of the men of Zang, desert dwelling."

(For the English translation of the text illustrated, see 60, Canto XX, pp. 209 ff.)

3. 08.280 Alexander, in the disguise of an envoy, is recognized by Queen Nūshāba. Plate 22

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.188 x 0.136.

The sky is gold; cypresses, a neutral gold-brown; the throne enclosure, tan; and the foreground terrace, cream-color; while the tower is treated like an illuminated page in dark blue, olive-green, clear orange, brownish orange and tan—colors which are repeated in the figure painting.

The episode of Alexander's visit to the court of a queen, in the disguise of an envoy from himself, is included in various versions of the Alexander Romance. Firdawsī, following the Pseudo-Callisthenes, tells of such a visit made by Alexander to Qaidāfa, queen of Andalus, i.e., Spain. (For a full discussion of Firdawsī's sources, see 30, vol. VI, pp. 60 ff.) Niẓāmī relates it as a visit to Nūshāba, queen of Barda' or Bardh'a (Armenian: Partav in Arrān, in the Caucasus [see 29, *Bardha'a*]).

For the English translation of the text, see Clarke (60, Canto XXXVIII, pp. 460 ff.).

4. 08.281 A hunting scene. Plate 23

Opaque color and gold.

Paper: 0.308 x 0.197.

Painting: 0.169 x 0.135.

The miniature is apparently the work of the painter of the earlier scene, Farīdūn hunting (08.260), but developed in a different color tonality. The Farī-

dūn painting is predominantly in gold, cream, and pinkish areas with accents of orange, brown, black, and green. In the present painting, the accents are of red, orange, brown, yellow, cream, and white against a blue sky and a light gray-blue field with warmly tinted edges. Characteristic details are the leaping hare, the slashed animals, the oval stones, the flowering plants, and the single iris.

5. 08.282 The meeting of al-Khizr (al-Khidr) and the prophet Ilyās (Elias) at the Fountain of Life. Plate 24  
 Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.196.  
 Painting: 0.178 x 0.144.

Sky and foreground field are painted in black separated by the mass of hills in blue-gray. The fountain, or stream, once painted in silver, has become black like the surrounding ground, its course distinguishable by the stones at the edge. The stones and plants are painted in light neutral yellow resembling unburnished gold, with touches of neutral red. The two figures in the meadow have flame-haloes of gold, and are dressed according to their respective callings in green and in white. The horse of Ilyās is white, with a dark-blue saddle cloth. Behind al-Khizr stands a gray ass with saddle cloth and saddle of orange and dark blue. This palette of neutral yellow, orange, green, blue, and white, with gold, is used for the figures of the men and horses beyond the hills.

The present painting of the mid-sixteenth century falls into a series of the same, or a related, subject, as follows:

- 1) Fifteenth century (late) Herat school.  
 FGA 37.24. From a Nizāmī Ms.

Ilyās and al-Khizr at the Fountain of Life, seated in a flowering meadow, with the platter holding two fish; al-Khizr holds a living fish in his hand. No observers. Romantic in spirit. (See 14, pl. LXI.)

- 2) Fifteenth century, "fin de siècle, Timurid."  
 From a *Shāhnāma* Ms. al-Khizr and the angel Isrāfil at the Fountain of Life (33, pl. VII, fig. 15; see also pp. 18-19).

In this *Shāhnāma* version, the two figures hold an empty platter from which two fish have escaped into the foreground pool, having come to life there. The host of Alexander is seen beyond the hill edge, evidently unaware of the scene in the foreground. Mystical in spirit.

- 3) Sixteenth century, 937 H./1531 [Herat school ?].  
 From a *Khamsa* of Jāmi. Reproduced (14, pl. XC A; No. 139a, pp. 132-133).

A variant showing the prophet Ilyās and al-Khizr, both haloed, bathing in the Fountain of Life observed only by winged peri from beyond the hill edge, and their two horses.

In spirit, a kind of mystical *genre*. The action of al-Khizr holding the bath kettle above his head is the familiar gesture of the bathhouse. The sky is dark but spangled with stars.

- 4) Sixteenth century, 955 H./1548. Shiraz.  
FGA 08.282—the present miniature.

Here the scene more closely follows the Nizāmī narrative than the first one of the series, 37.24. The scene is divided into two parts by a range of mountains, blue [in shadow?]. Beyond are the hosts of Alexander carrying torches in the land of Darkness in the search for the Fountain which they were never to find. In the foreground, in a flowery meadow kneeling beside the stream, are the two figures of Ilyās and al-Khizr, furnished with flaming haloes. Between them is a platter with but one fish, to which al-Khizr points, while Ilyās listens with the usual gesture of astonishment.

The pattern of the composition is plotted upon the Shiraz canon. The figure of al-Khizr, the most important personage in the story, is placed between the two inner axes, while that of Alexander, who was to fail in the quest, is placed not only beyond (in the upper four-tenths section) but also in the outside area at the left.

The spirit is, perhaps, in contrast to the others of the series, that of poetical illustration, not mystical like No. 2, nor so romantic as No. 1.

- 5) Sixteenth century, A.D. 1562.  
From a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, written by a scribe from Shuster and illustrated by Āghā Bahrām Afshar.  
Reproduced by Marteau et Vever (50, vol. II, pl. XCII).

Here the earlier representations of the shared secret of al-Khizr, have given place to a picture that does, indeed, represent the Green Man and the prophet Ilyās, both with flaming haloes, seated upon either side of the Stream of the Water of Life; but close behind is Alexander, finger on lip, as if observing this wonder, and coming toward them are the companions of Alexander, gesticulating and talking. Remoteness and mystery have vanished from the scene. While the Ms. is the work of a scribe of Shuster and the painter, possibly the son of Ustād Bahrām (of Isfahan?), it is interesting to note that the structure of the design conforms to the Shiraz canon, although the areas of text are differently proportioned from those of the usual Shiraz miniature.

It will be noticed that while the figure of Alexander is placed in the outer area, it is below the horizontal division at four-tenths the height from the top, thus putting him into the near foreground. Perhaps significantly, the Stream of the Water of Life is placed between the two inner axes. One can only surmise that the painter derived his technical training from the Shiraz school—whether directly or remotely—and it is plain to see that in his illustration technical facility and a nice sense of pattern are all that remain. There is no longer freshness of imagina-

tion, which infused the earlier representations with an atmosphere of romance, of mystery, or of poetic charm.

6. 08.283 The arrival of Alexander at the school of the philosopher Hermes. Plate 25  
 Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
 Painting: 0.169 x 0.147.

While the painter has in general plotted his composition in accordance with the Shiraz canon, he has abandoned the division into inner and outer areas in the lower section and gained amplitude by using the entire width for the circle of figures, seen in elliptical perspective. The sky is gold; the landscape, cream and brown, with a silver stream (now blackened); the wall is a pinkish brown and the terrace, the color of the paper. Against this warm light ground, the many figures are painted in small areas of two blues, two greens, two yellow-browns, red-brown, orange, and white; a book rest and a box of gold.

The episode illustrated occurs in the *Khīrad-nāma*—Book of (Alexander's) Wisdom, the shorter second part of the *Iskandar-nāma*. It contains ten stories, the first six of which deal with everyday life, followed by four others which introduce the purely philosophical parts of the book, since their heroes are the wise men who lived at the court of Alexander, and who were the teachers of the ancient world. This section, in turn, was followed by various adventures of Alexander.

It is the first of the four stories which is illustrated in our miniature, and which is paraphrased by Bacher (9, p. 78) as follows:

"The story describes a conspiracy which took place in the small circle of scholars and which was directed against Hermes who surpassed everyone in sagacity and in convincing power of argument. All of his colleagues refrained from applauding even his most successful disputation. He finally lost his patience, and with the occult power of his word he changed the seventy men into motionless images.

"When Alexander arrived and learned of the happenings, he praised Hermes and condemned the stubborn men who had been punished. He disapproved of the action of each of them and said, amongst other things:

'Because they covered with ridicule the teaching of the wise one  
 The shroud of Fate had to cover them.  
 If you do not listen willingly, you will experience with suffering;  
 The power of words gives temper to the argument.  
 Jewels which are fit for the decoration of a crown  
 Cannot be strewn on the ground without punishment.'

"We probably have here before us one of the many remarks which are attributed to Hermes Trismegistos."

The subject is not often illustrated. The Walters Art Gallery *Nizāmī* of ca. 1550-1560, contains a miniature of the Hermes scene; and another of ca. 1590

is reproduced by Arnold and Grohmann (8, pl. 66). Both appear to be of the Shiraz school.

7. 08.284 Alexander sees the water nymphs at play. Plate 26  
 Opaque color, gold and silver (oxidized).  
 Paper: 0.311 x 0.197.  
 Painting: 0.191 x 0.146.

Among the illustrations in the book, this one, while lively and amusing, is the least successful as a coordinated design, either in its spacing or its color. The design was indeed plotted according to the Shiraz canon in being divided vertically by invisible lines derived from the text areas and their relation to the framed space. The tent of Alexander is placed in the outer area, and the invisible line at four-tenths of the height from the top makes a complete separation between the area occupied by the sirens and that occupied by human beings. But in removing the group of human spectators as far as possible from the scene in the foreground, the painter has crowded them into a narrow space at the top and divided the remainder of the space into the wide hill area and the water area at the bottom. The sky is painted in strong blue; the inside of the tent, a lighter blue; its top and wall, white; the tent flap patterned in orange and light brown. The white, orange, green, and brown appear again in the costumes of the watchers behind the rocks. This puts all the strong color at the top, since the hill mass is the color of the paper, the water, once silver, was a neutral gray, and the figures of nymphs are in light flesh tones.

The subject is an arresting one to any Western mind with its far-off echoes of the songs of the sirens that Odysseus feared and those of the Rhine maidens who sought to entice the hero Siegfried, but its Eastern version is less familiar. Following is a free rendering of Bacher's (9) translation into German of Nizāmī's text:

"Finally Alexander came to China whose Emperor arrived quickly to renew his alliance. Also he accepted the true faith. Soon afterwards the two sovereigns undertook together a journey to the sea each of them being accompanied by 10,000 selected men. The rest of the army was left behind. After twenty days they arrived at the Green Sea and rested on its shore.

'Of these deep waters there was a legend  
 That the coast rises there full of wonders  
 The water maidens sparkling like sun and moon  
 Climb every night onto the shore;  
 They choose the beach to rest upon  
 And there they sing their songs and play their games;  
 And whose ear ever catches this song of theirs  
 His mind is lost owing to the beauty of their singing  
 They give voice to a melodious chant  
 Never before sung by any one at all.  
 Thus, every night on the high quiet shore



The song of the noble company arises  
 And only when the fragrance of the dawn appears  
 They plunge again into the dark waves.'

"A few miles from the coast, Alexander ordered his troop to pitch their camp. He himself went on his way accompanied by only one sailor hoping to hear the maidens' song:

'He saw the beauties who from the waves  
 Did sparkle, glittering like so many suns.  
 Their hair dissolved in curls flowed down their bodies  
 Like musk poured onto pure silver.  
 Each one of them sang a melody  
 And every song contained new tunes.  
 When his ear caught the sweet song  
 His body grew warmer, his blood boiled  
 And he complained with mournful words;  
 But then he laughed and said:  
 "What good to mourn?"'

This miniature has a peculiar interest in that the episode was apparently not often illustrated. Two others that are easily available are both of the fifteenth century—the first (Cartier, Paris), reproduced by Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, (14, pl. XXXII B, No. 42a, of about 1410-1420); and the second, the Goloubew miniature of 1463 reproduced in Schulz (71, vol. II, pl. 38). Together with the present miniature, the three form an interesting series of paintings at intervals of about 50 and 85 years, respectively.

The Cartier miniature which follows Nizāmī's text most closely, where the sirens are described as "brides of the water who sing their songs which cause men to lose their reason, by night; but when they catch the fragrance of the morning they dive beneath the dark water" (14, p. 65), is by far the most poetic in feeling. From behind a barrier of rocks, three watchers look down cautiously upon the water maidens at play. All but one are in the water, almost submerged. That one stands delicately at the edge of the sand, holding up a pearl for the others to see and whisper about. As if but just arisen from the bottom of the sea, her hair hangs heavy and wet and seaweed drips from her arms. The sky is dark, full of stars; an air of mystery pervades the scene—a mystery in which even the rocks, suggesting bird and animal forms, seem to take part.

The second miniature is more playful in spirit, conceived as a strange tale but lacking the atmosphere of dream that pervades the first. Here, too, the heads of watchers peer from behind rocks, but with no more intensity in their look than if they were shrubs growing in the crevices, and here, too, the sirens are occupied with pearls. On the shore, one dripping with seaweed has given a pearl to another standing in close embrace. In the sea two pairs of maidens emerging shoulder-high from the waves, play with flaming pearls while others whisper together.

Our own painting, almost a century later than the second one, has moved frankly into a daylight world of storytelling for amusement. Under a bright blue

sky the water maidens disport themselves, swimming about in lively action or playing along the shore. The figures are plainly of two types—those with long black tresses and their short-haired, boyish-looking playmates. (It may be that the two types occur also in the Goloubew miniature, but if so, they are less clearly differentiated.) Alexander and his companions, far from being secret watchers have pitched their tent along the edge of the rocks and gaze openly down upon the scene below, expressing their astonishment by the usual gesture, finger on lip. The painter no longer follows the prescription of the text which demands the presence of Alexander and only one or two sailors, but fills the horizon line from edge to edge with onlookers.

A forerunner of our painting is to be seen in the illustration of a similar, but not identical, subject, illustrating the visit of Alexander to the isle of women, and dated as of A.D. 1501 (6, pl. XXXVII b). Here, as in our miniature, women's figures are shown nude, and in the attitudes of standing, sitting, and swimming. It is but another evidence of the change in concept and in mood that came about between the poetical, imaginative painting of the fifteenth century and the more literal representations of the Safavid schools.

## APPENDIX

### I. ILLUMINATED AND ILLUSTRATED MSS. SIGNED BY SHIRAZ SCRIBES.

5

Manuscript	Date	Scribe	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Attribution published	Comment
1. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Bodleian Library; Elliot, 192. Sachau & Ethé (62, No. 587).	907 H. A.D. 1500-1501	Na'im al-Din Kātib Shirāzi.	(35, pl. 8) (6, pl. XXVIII) (14, p. 103, No. 101, and pl. XCVIII A)		None None "Probably West Persian." (B-W-G)	Four large and 40 small miniatures. Text control of the Timurid type. Center emphasized. Shiraz plant forms.
2. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : MMA (53, No. 7).	915 H. A.D. 1510	Na'im al-Din al-Kātib (al-Shirāzi).	(53, pl. opp. p. 54)		None	
3. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Kevorkian Coll. (unpublished).	919 H. A.D. 1513	Murshid al-Din Muhammad; in Shiraz.		Pl. 27, A		Double frontispiece (of which the right one is missing) and 14 miniatures in Timurid style.
4. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : BM Add. 7,635 (18, vol. I, p. 176).	929 H. A.D. 1523	Murshid al-Kātib known as 'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzi.	None	Pl. 27, B Pl. 28, A, B Pl. 29, A, B	None	"15 whole page miniatures." (Rieu.)
5. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Rāghib Pasha Library, 1094, Istanbul (28, No. 50).	934 H. A.D. 1528	Mir Muhsin al-Kātib al-Shirāzi.	None		None	36 miniatures.
6. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : A. Chester Beatty Coll. (14, No. 136).	935 H. A.D. 1528	Murshid al-Kātib al-'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzi.	(14, pl. LXXXVIII A)		"? Shiraz." (B-W-G)	"Caliph and barber." (Illustrated by B-W-G.) An elaborate composition, perhaps after Bihzād but already based on the Shiraz canon. 21 miniatures.
7. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : A. Chester Beatty Coll. (14, No. 138).	936 H. A.D. 1529	Murshid al-Kātib al-'Aṭṭār (al-Shirāzi).	None		"? Shiraz." (B-W-G)	33 miniatures.

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APPENDIX—CONTINUED

Manuscript	Date	Scribe	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Attribution published	Comment
8. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : India Office Library (36, No. 175; 14, No. 151).	939 H. A.D. 1533	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	(14, pl. XCI A, B)	Pl. 30, A, B Pl. 31, A	"Provincial style." (B-W-G)	The miniatures exemplify the Shiraz canon. It may be noted here that the design of the tent top (pl. 30, A) is the same as that on the painted flap of the FGA binding (08.199: pl. 1, A) which suggests a common reservoir of designs for the various branches of book production. 30 miniatures.
9. Hātifi: <i>Lailā u-Majnūn</i> : Staatsbibl., Berlin: Ms. Orient. 8°, 149; <i>Cat.</i> No. 903 (71, vol. I, p. 130).	941 H. A.D. 1534	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	None		"Tabriz or Qazwin."	5 miniatures. Schulz evidently depending on the date to suggest provenance. Schulz has wrongly described Ms. as a Nizāmi.
10. Amīr Hasan Dihlavi: <i>Dīvān</i> : Munich, Staatsbibl., Cod. pers., 66 (71, vol. I, p. 130).	941 H. A.D. 1534	Unsigned.	(71, vol. II, pl. 82 B)		"Schiraz."	Certain suggestion of Shiraz, but does not wholly resemble other school work. 4 miniatures.
11. <i>Shāhnāma</i> : Bankipore (10, No. 1).	942 H. A.D. 1536	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	None		None	One full double page miniature mentioned in catalogue.
12. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Kevorlian Coll. (unpublished) (39, p. 261, Case 17 E).	943 H. A.D. 1537	Muhammad al-Kātib Shirāzī (called Hammāmi: see Note 2 below).	None	Pls. 34, B; 36, A	None	22 miniatures.
13. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, İstanbul, Khazine 691 (28, No. 52).	945 H. A.D. 1538	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	None		None	29 miniatures mentioned in catalogue.

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Manuscript	Date	Scribe	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Attribution published	Comment
14. <i>Shāhnāma</i> : Kevoṛkian Coll. (formerly Veever Coll.) (unpublished).	945 H. A.D. 1539	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzi.	(50, vol. II, pl. LXXXI)	Pl. 32, A, B	"École de Shiraz." (Marteau et Veever)	14 miniatures. Text control of the Timurid type, except for horizontal division in the ratio 4:6. Grotesque rock forms; Shiraz plants, etc.
15. Hāfiz: <i>Dīvān</i> : Zander Coll. (71, vol. I, p. 130).	950 H. A.D. 1543–1544	Muhammad al-Shirāzi called Ḥammāmī.	(71, vol. II, pl. 81 A, B)		"Tabriz or Qazwin."	The 2 miniatures reproduced are somewhat different in style from others but may have been done in Shiraz by a craftsman less competent than the painter of the Praetorius Codex miniatures, for example.
16. Nizāmī: <i>Khamsa</i> : L'Institut des Langues Orientales, Leningrad (47, vol. V, pp. 171 f., No. 37).	950 H. A.D. 1543–1544	Muhammad Qivām al-Kātib al-Shirāzi called Ḥammāmī.	None			24 miniatures.
17. Nizāmī: <i>Khamsa</i> : Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, Khazine 689 (28, No. 54).	951 H. A.D. 1544	Muhammad Qivām al-Kātib al-Shirāzi known as Ḥammāmī.	None		None	"25 schöne Miniaturen." (Duda.)
18. <i>Shāhnāma</i> : Turk ve Islam Asarı Müzesi (formerly Evkaf Museum) Istanbul: No. 2233 (67, pp. 107 f.).	n.d.	Muhammad al-Kātib, completed in capital City Shiraz.	(67, pls. LXXVI, fig. 136; LXXXVIII, figs. 140, 141)	Shiraz about 1502		Paintings are in the fully developed style of the mid-16th century, rather than in the style of the earlier period assigned by Saksian. This agrees with the name of the scribe, who was active in the forties and fifties. Shiraz composition with characteristic details in landscape, animals, carpets and costumes including the high aigrettes worn by women.

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19. Qazvīnī: <i>ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt</i> : A. Chester Beatty Coll. (14, No. 176).	952 H. A.D. 1545	Murshid al-Shirāzī called 'Aṭṭār.	(14, pls. XCVI A-B, XCVII)	Pl. 39	? Shiraz	648 miniatures.
20. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : the Praetorius Codex, Munich (76). Other leaves in Spiegelberg Coll., Berlin; V-A, London (E2138-1929; E2139-1929).	953 H. A.D. 1548	Murshid al-Kātib al-'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzī.	(76, figs. 13-18; 15, fig. 6)	Pl. 39	Shiraz	The Shiraz mathematical system first analyzed in these paintings which are of high quality.
21. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : Public Library, Leningrad (46, CCXCIII, pp. 285 f.). (This is the Ms. referred to by Rieu.) (18, vol. I, p. 176, Add. 7, 635.)	953 H. A.D. 1546	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	None	None	None	
22. Jāmi: <i>Yūsuf u-Zulāikḥā</i> : Cambridge University Library (25, pp. 355 f., No. CCLXVIII).	954 H. A.D. 1547-1548	Muhammad Qivām.	None	Pl. 35, A, B	None	3 miniatures.
23. Jāmi: <i>Yūsuf u-Zulāikḥā</i> : India Office Library (36, No. 1344).	n.d.	Muhammad al-Qivām al-Shirāzī.	None	Pl. 31, B	None	"Luxuriously illuminated in ultramarine, gold and other colors; 5 miniatures." (Ethé.)
24. Jāmi: <i>Yūsuf u-Zulāikḥā</i> : MMA (53, No. 19).	n.d.	Muhammad Qivām al-Shirāzī.	None	Pl. 44, A	None	Perfect example of Shiraz style of the second half of the 16th century.
25. Nizāmī: <i>Khamsa</i> : FGA Ms. 08.199.	955 H. A.D. 1548	Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzī.	None	Pl. 2 (FGA 08.260)— pl. 26 (FGA 08.284)	Shiraz	
26. Sa'dī: <i>Gulistān</i> : Staatsbibl., Berlin, Ms. Orient. 8°, 135 (12, No. 785).	957 H. A.D. 1550	Hasan Sharīf al-Shirāzī.	None	None	None	Very fine illuminations; no miniatures.

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Manuscript	Date	Scribe	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Attribution published	Comment
27. Jāmi: <i>Subḥat al-Abrār</i> : Kevorkian Coll. (unpublished).	958 H. A.D. 1551	Muhammad al-Qi-vām al-Kātib al-Shirāzi.				No miniatures; fine <i>sarlāwih</i> and good binding.
28. 'Aṭṭār: <i>Mihr u-Mushṭarī</i> : Kevorkian Coll. (unpublished).	959 H. A.D. 1552	Ḥasan al-Sharīf al-Kātib.				7 miniatures.
29. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : BM OR. 1359 (18, vol. I, p. 176).	959 H. A.D. 1552	1. Murshid al-Kātib al-'Aṭṭār. 2. Ḥasan al-Sharīf al-Kātib.	BM Color Repr. No. 30.	Pls. 40, A, B; 41, A, B	None	12 miniatures. The one reproduced in color, reveals the Shiraz school in basic design and details.
30. <i>Shāhnāma</i> : BMFA No. 14,691-692 (formerly Goloubew) (33, pp. 60-62, No. 97).	960-991 H. A.D. 1552-1583	Muhammad al-Qi-vām al-Shirāzi.	(33, vol. XIII, pls. LIV-LVIII. For signature see pl. LVII)		"Turquie" (Coomaraswamy)	See Appendix, Note 3.
31. <i>Majālis al-'Ushshāq</i> : Bodleian Library (62, No. 1271).	960 H. A.D. 1552-1553	Farīd al-Kātib.	(6, pls. XXXIII, XLV, XLVI, XLVIII)		None	Paintings reproduced of the Shiraz school. Characteristic details of landscape: trees, stones, flower clumps; of interiors: carpets, costumes, caps with high aigrettes.
32. Jāmi: <i>Haft Awrang</i> : Bodleian Library (62, No. 898; 14, No. 243).	n.d.	Muhammad al-Qi-vām Shirāzi.	(6, pl. XXXII A, B)		"Probably 3rd quarter of XVI century."	
33. Sa'di: <i>Kulliyāt</i> : Kevorkian Coll. (unpublished).	n.d.	Muhammad al-Qi-vām Shirāzi.			None	Double frontispiece.
34. Sa'di: <i>Kulliyāt</i> : Edinburgh Univ. Library (14, No. 186).	964 H. A.D. 1556	'Ināyat Allāh Shirāzi.	None		None	17 miniatures.
35. <i>Shāhnāma</i> : India Office Library (36, No. 863; 14, No. 202).	967 H. A.D. 1560	Ḥasan b. Muhammad Aḥsan "finished at Shiraz."	None	Pls. 45, A, B; 46, A	None	"Splendid copy." 24 miniatures are "well executed." (Éthé.)

APPENDIX—CONTINUED

Manuscript	Date	Scribe	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Attribution published	Comment
36. Amīr Khusrāw Dihlavī: <i>Duvalrānī Khidr Khān</i> : Kevorkian Coll., (un- published) (39, p. 201; Case 91 H).	n.d.	Muhammad al-Oj- vām al-Kātib al-Shi- rāzi.		Pl. 43, A, B		5 miniatures; one signed by Kāfi.
37. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Garrett Coll., Princeton Univer- sity (31, No. 9).	970 H. A.D. 1562- 1563	Mawlāna al-Kātib al-Shirāzi.	None	Pl. 44, B	None	25 miniatures, probably some- what later than the scribe's date.
38. Jāmi: <i>Silsilat-al Dhahab</i> : Buhār Library (24, pp. 254-255, No. 338).	977 H. A.D. 1569	Hajjī Maḥmūd Shi- rāzi.	None		None	Profuse illuminations noted; but no miniatures. Interest attaches to the signature of yet another Shiraz scribe.
39. Mīr Ali Shīr Nawā'i: <i>Second Divān</i> : MMA (53, No. 22).	988 H. A.D. 1580	Qāsim Ali al-Shi- rāzi.		Pl. 47, B	None	5 miniatures.
40. Mīr Ali Shīr Nawā'i: Ke- vorkian Coll. (unpub- lished).	n.d.	Qāsim Ali al-Kātib al-Shirāzi.				4 two-page miniatures.
41. Hātifi: <i>Lailā u-Majnūn</i> : Cairo: Egyptian Library. No. 128, <i>Litt. pers.</i> 17 (72, p. 147, No. XXI).	988 H. A.D. 1580- 1581	Shuja' al-Dīn Shira- zi.	None		None	"7 miniatures de facture moyenne." (Stchoukine.)
42. Hāfiz: <i>Divān</i> : Cairo, Eyp- tian Library (72, No. XXII).	991 H. A.D. 1583	Hidayat Allāh al- Kātib al-Shirāzi.	(72, fig. 4)		None	"Polo game." Organically plotted design. One minia- ture signed by Ali b. Nizām Buland al-Dīn Ali b. Jawhar b. Sultān Abdallah.
43. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Univer- sity Museum, University of Pennsylvania (14, No. 223).	...92 H. (for 992) A.D. 1584	Qāsim al-Kātib al- Shirāzi "copied at Shiraz."	(14, pl. CII A)	Pls. 48, A, B; 49, A, B	Shiraz	22 miniatures examined and measured. Late Shiraz canon. Introduction of late 16th- century style in rocks, trees, and figures.
44. Firdawsi: <i>Shāhnāma</i> : Ro- senbach Coll., N. Y. (formerly Holford) (39, p. 261, Case 17 C (unpublished)).	998 H. A.D. 1589	Qivām ibn Muham- mad al-Shirāzi.		Pl. 50, A, B		These paintings well illus- trate the final phase of 16th- century school work in Shi- raz.



## APPENDIX—CONTINUED

### II. MANUSCRIPTS UNSIGNED BY SHIRAZ SCRIBES, WITH MINIATURES OF SHIRAZ TYPE.

Manuscript	Date	Reproduction published	Reproduction in this book	Comment
45. <i>Zafār-nāma</i> : Library of Gulistān Palace (14, p. 132, No. 137).	935 H. A.D. 1528-1529	(14, pl. LXXXIX A, B; 48, p. 46 (L); 66, vol. V, pls. 905, 906, 907)	Pl. 38, A, B	While the colophon gives the scribe's name as Sulṭān Muhammad Nūr [of Tabriz] the miniatures reproduced exhibit many characteristics of the Shiraz school, at its possible best.
46. Jāmi: <i>Yūsuf u-Zulaik-hā</i> : Egyptian Library, Cairo (14, No. 152; 72, pp. 144-145, No. XII).	940 H. A.D. 1533-1534	(14, pl. XCII A, B)		Miniatures exemplify Shiraz canon; seven in number.
47. Firdawsī: <i>Shāhnāma</i> : formerly Coll. Claude Anet.	None	(50, vol. II, pl. LXXXII)		Attributed to the school of Shiraz, first half of 16th century. Possibly from the same atelier as id., pl. LXXXI (now Kevorkian Coll.) but not by the same hand. Animated rock forms less vigorous. Shiraz canon more firmly established. 1530-1540?
48. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : BM Add. 27,260 (18, vol. II, p. 571).	None	(22, pl. XI (incorrectly numbered as Add. 27,250)	Pls. 33, A, B; 34, A	The miniature reproduced in the <i>Alexander Book</i> is by the same hand as our miniature "Faridūn hunting" (FGA 08.260, pl. 2).
49. Firdawsī: <i>Shāhnāma</i> : Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 600.	9. . . 5 H. (probably 955).	None		The date 955 is suggested since the style of the painting is that of about 1540-1550. The format is that of the earlier rectangular type on a central axis (cf. FGA 08.271, pl. 13).
50. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 610.	n. d.	None	Pl. 42, A, B	21 miniatures similar in style to those of the Freer Ms., but slightly inferior in quality. Shiraz canon; characteristic details of landscape, plants, animals, carpets, etc. Probably 1550-1560.
51. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Egyptian Library, Cairo.	983 H. A.D. 1575	(72, fig. 6)		A school piece; Shiraz canon with design projecting into the margin; Shiraz details.
52. Aḥmad Ghaffāri: <i>Ni-gāristān</i> : Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 598.	976 H. A.D. 1569	None	Pls. 46, B; 47, A	Composition built on thirds. Shiraz figural types; may be from Qazvin.
53. Nizāmi: <i>Khamsa</i> : Kevorkian Coll. (unpublished).	915-16 H. A.D. 1509-1510		Pls. 36, B; 37, A, B	The Ms. is signed by the scribe Ibrahim al-Wahhāb "in Asterabad," but the miniatures are obviously of a later date than the writing and of the Shiraz style of mid-16th century.

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### III. SINGLE MINIATURES OF SHIRAZ TYPE.

Miniatures	Provenance and date, as given	Comments
54. FGA 23.6: Majnūn.	Persian, about 1500.	This now seems recognizable as a Shiraz work as to: a) composition, b) Timurid figural types.
55. BMFA 14.625: (formerly Goloubew) (33, No. 69, pl. XXXIX).	No provenance assigned. "Second moitié du XVI <sup>e</sup> me siècle."	Characteristic plotting and details of Shiraz, such as drawing of eyes; plants, double stones, animated rock-forms.
56. Fogg Mus. 1922.75 (70, No. XVI).	"Probably . . . Tabriz or Qazvin, about 1570-80, or a little later." (Schroeder.)	A typical Shiraz composition. In the Maggs Bros., <i>Catalogue</i> , 404 (49, Item 132) is a miniature from a <i>Khamisa</i> which is dated in A.D. 1579, of the same subject by, apparently, the same hand. This confirms Mr. Schroeder's dating; but I think the Fogg miniature may safely be assigned to Shiraz.

### NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. Naturally, this list of documented manuscripts cannot pretend to be exhaustive. It has been compiled from material available either in its original form or in published form covering the greater part of the sixteenth century, only as suggestive of the work of the school.
2. Muhammad al-Kātib of Shiraz, called by the nickname Ḥammāmi, was said by V. Rosen (47, p. 326) to be identical with Muhammad Qivām al-Shirāzī. This is borne out in his signature in the Istanbul *Khamisa* of 951 H./1544, which includes all the names by which he was known. It is signed: "Muhammad al-Qivām al-Kātib al-Shirāzī, called Ḥammāmi." He was apparently active from the fourth into the sixth decade of the sixteenth century. Manuscripts signed by him are listed above as numbers 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 32, 33, 36. Those dated range from 1537 through 1552.
3. The miniatures of this manuscript (No. 30) are highly important for further study. It bears the signatures of (or attributions to) two Shiraz men, the scribe Muhammad al-Qivām and the gilder (*Mudhahhib*) Muhammad ibn Tāj al-Dīn Haidar Shirāzī (see 33, pl. LVII); and yet the paintings have been assigned by Coomaraswamy (33) to the Turkish school. The painting reproduced on plate 38, unusual for Shiraz in being a marginal composition, is in the later Shiraz style; while those reproduced on plates 54 and 55 do indeed suggest Turkish influence in composition and costume. (No comment on color can be made since it has been impossible to see the originals.) The lapse of 31 years between the recorded dates allows for considerable speculation as to the origin of these paintings. The date 960 H./1532 may be that of the beginning of the scribe's work. Muhammad al-Qivām, as shown in the first of his work above, was active at that time.

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<i>Khamṣa</i> .....	37, 53, figs. 11c, 12a, c-d, 13b-c, pl. 42A-B	British Museum:	
<i>Nigāristān</i> .....	pls. 46B, 47A	Add. 7635 .....	24, 57, pls. 27B, 28A-B, 29A-B
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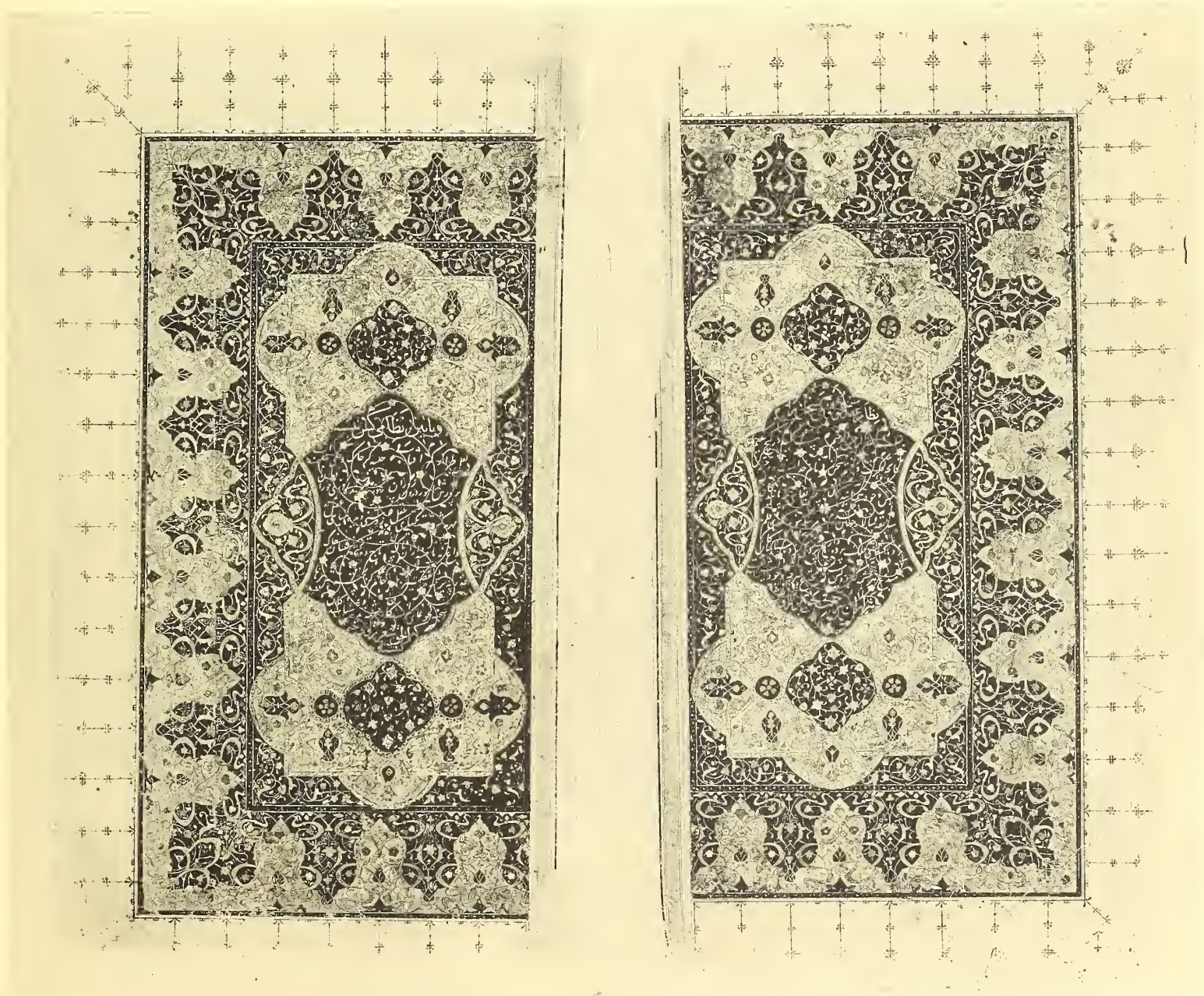


PLATES





A. Inner side of the flap of the binding of the Freer manuscript 08.199



B. Illuminated frontispiece (FGA 08.259)



Farīdūn hunting (FGA 08.260)



Caliph al Ma'mūn and the barber (FGA 08.261)



Khusraw discovers Shirin bathing in a pool (FGA 08.262)





Battle between the forces of Khusraw and Bahrām Chūbīn (FGA 08.263)



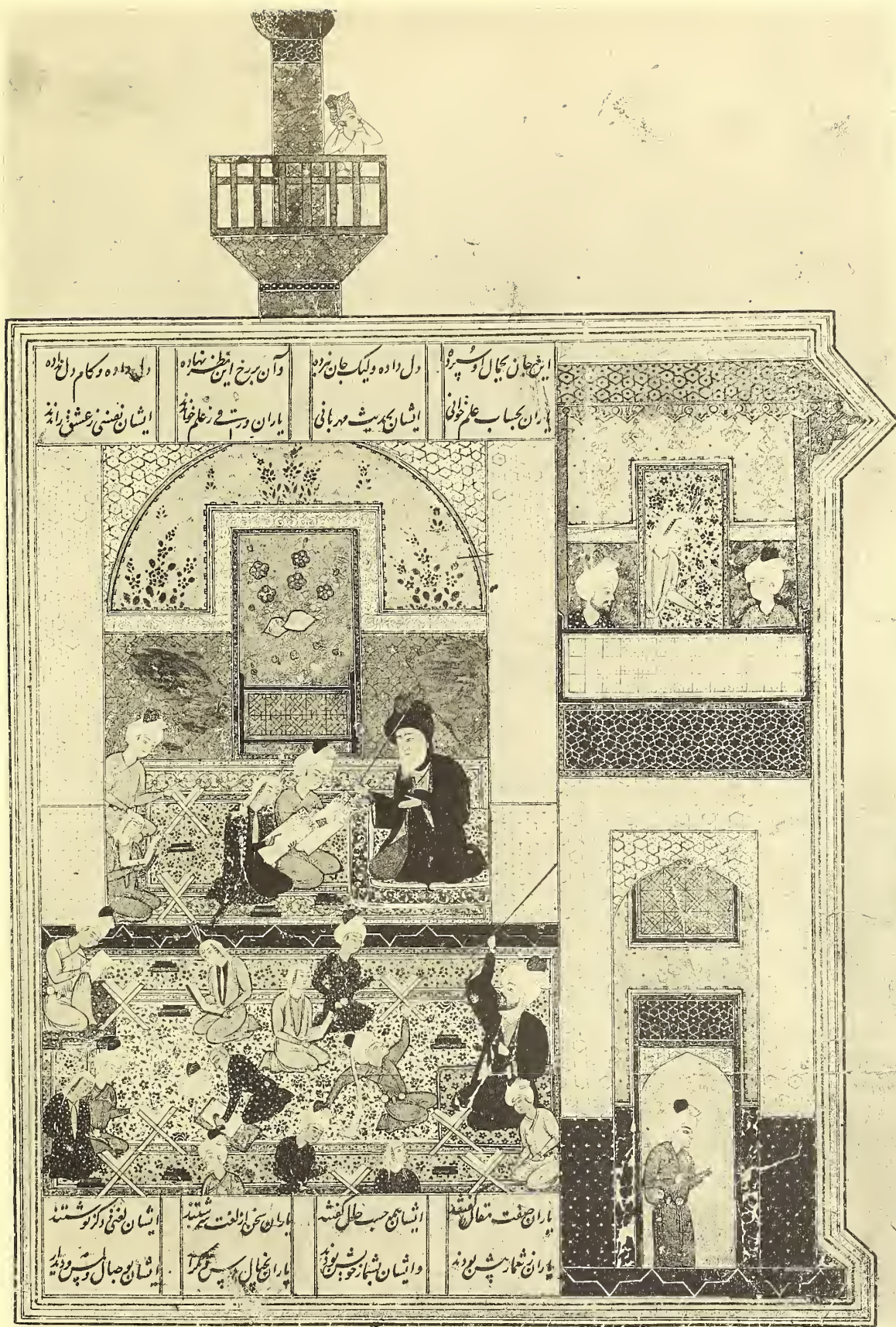
Shirīn, mounted, carried by Farhād (FGA 08.264)



Shirin grants an audience to Khusraw (FGA 08.265)



Khusraw and Shirin holding a feast at night (FGA 08.266)



Qais (Majnūn) and Lailā at school (FGA 08.267)



Lailā and her maidens in the palm grove (FGA 08.268)



شیرشیده نوافل کرد بر کوه کبینه کردی کرد	می کردیم کون از خرد بشکستی اگر بودی زین	می ساخت چو از این دنیا بر سر درستی که نزهت را	رضی و دمی دمی و در در زقر او و ورق نماد
--	--	--	--

همون بهمان دوش یاران چو کشته هم	تاوردن کمان بجای زین از نسک بر آوردند خانی	کردند بزدی اینچنان پر کندی از اتفاق خیزد	کران و نینه خیزند پروزی از اهلان
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Nawfal, the Arab chief, champions Majnūn's cause in battle (FGA 08.269)



Last meeting of Lailā and Majnūn (FGA 08.270)

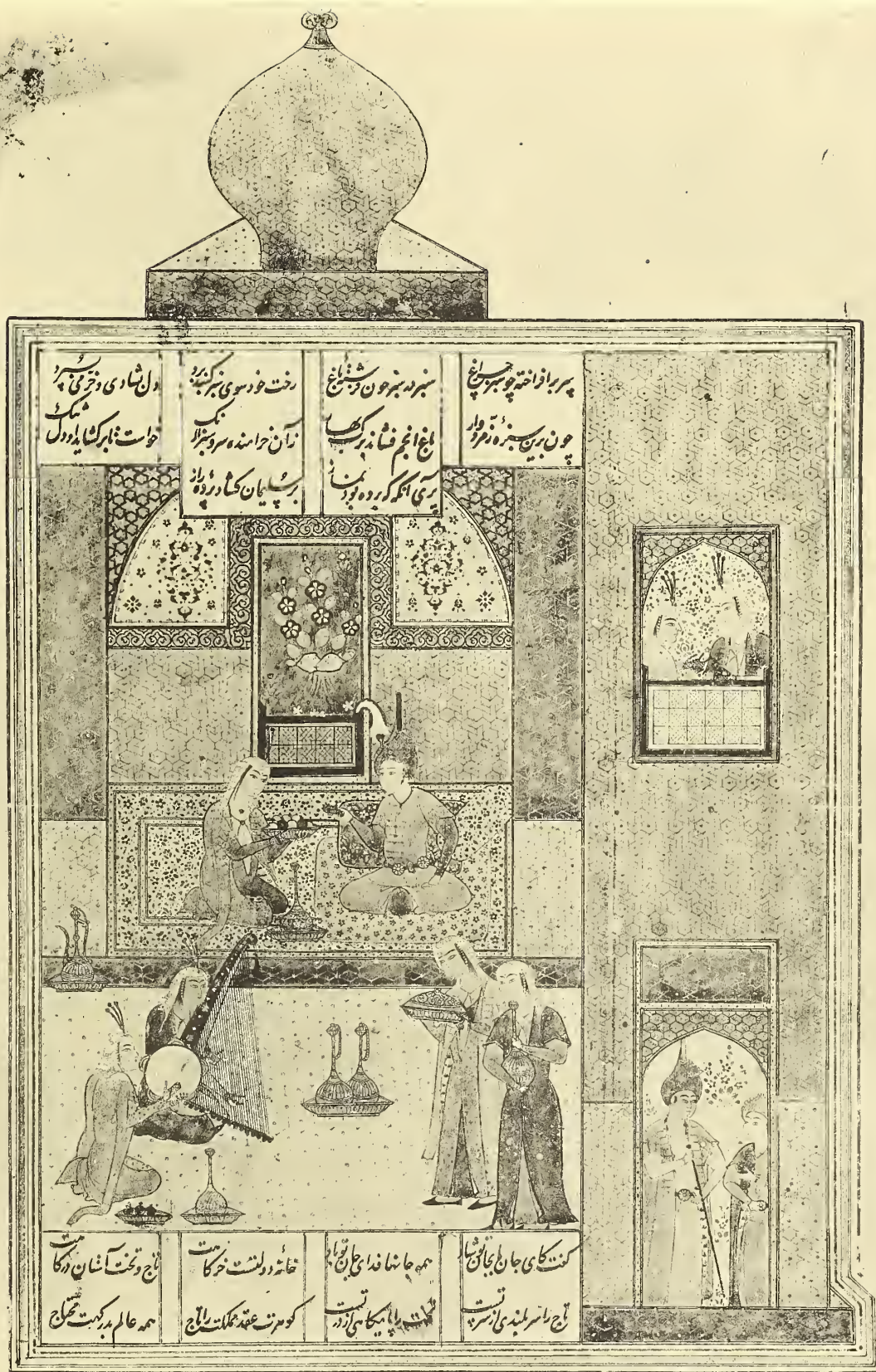




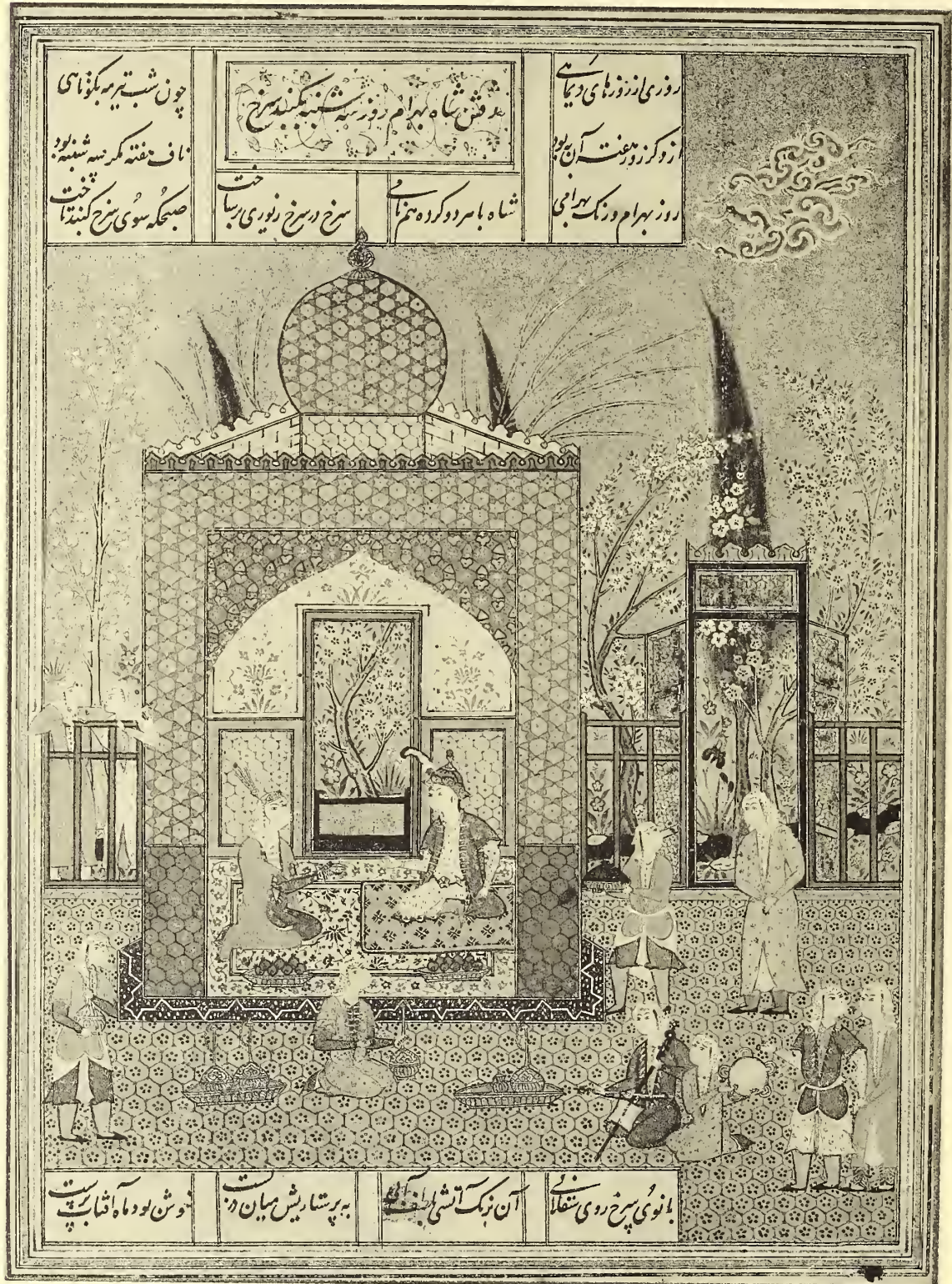
Bahrām Gūr in the Black Pavilion (FGA 08.271)



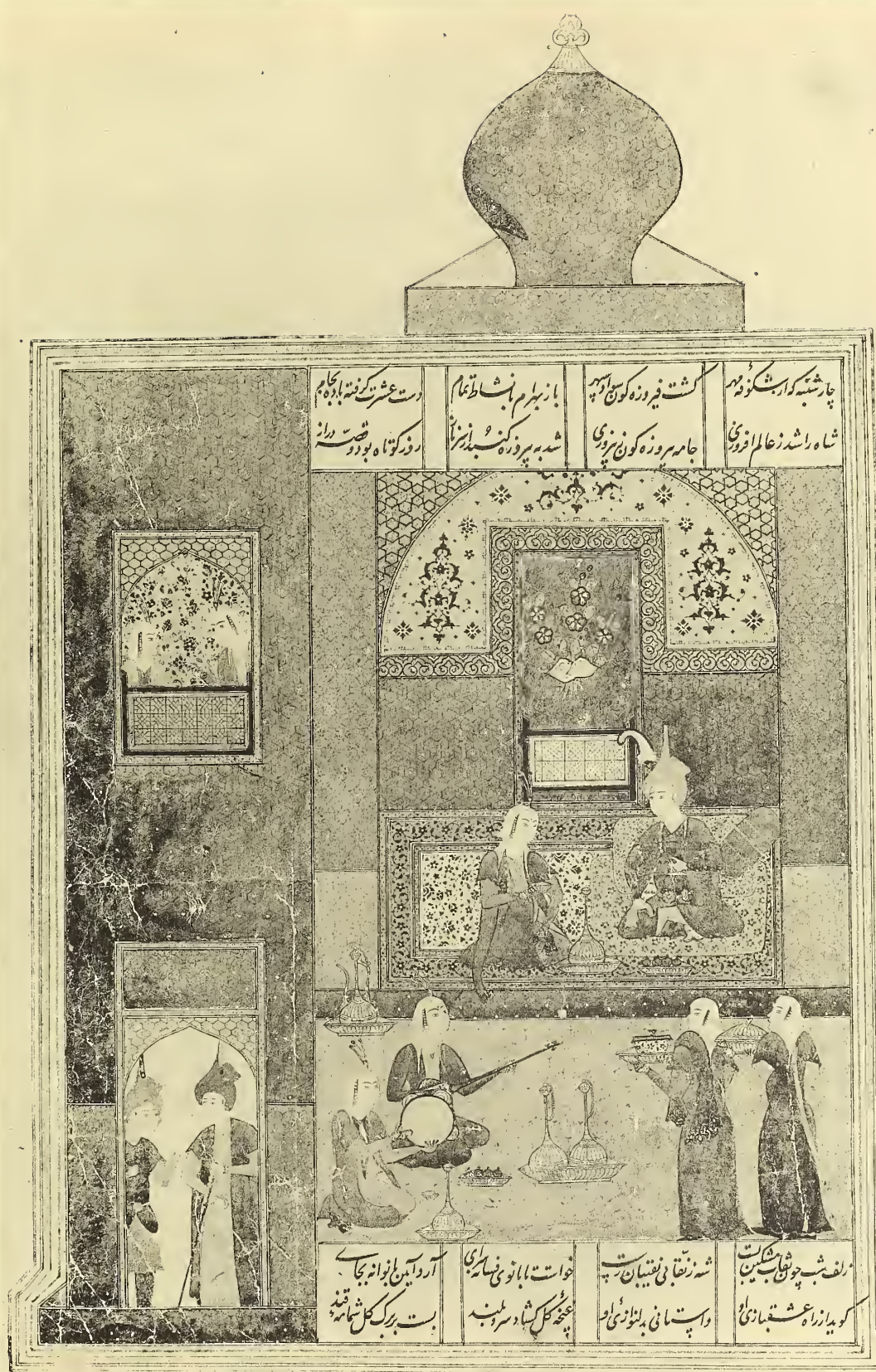
Bahrām Gūr in the Yellow Pavilion (FGA 08.272)



Bahrām Gūr in the Green Pavilion (FGA 08.273)



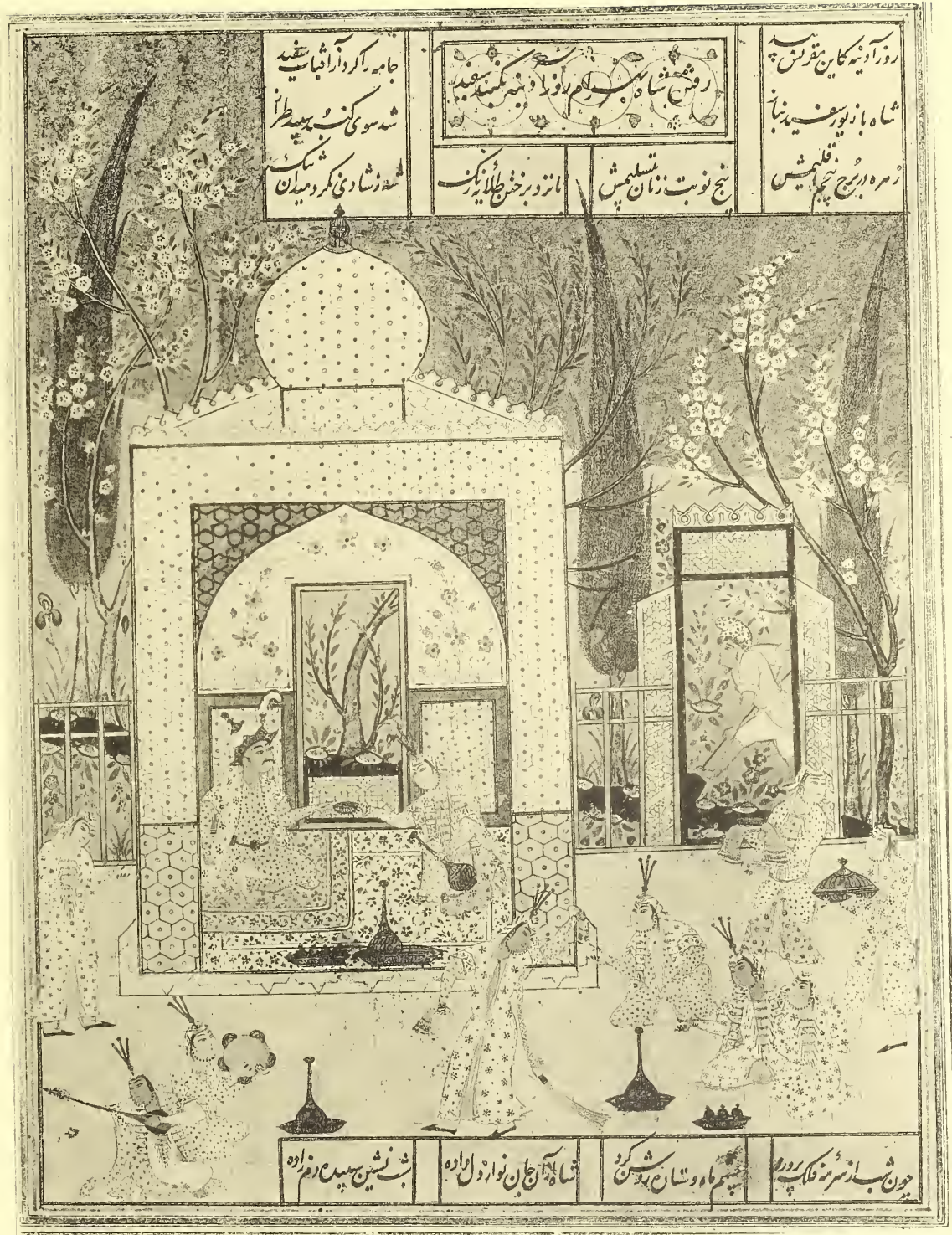
Bahrām Gūr in the Red Pavilion (FGA 08.274)



Bahrām Gūr in the Turquoise Pavilion (FGA 08.275)



Bahrām Gūr in the Sandal-colored Pavilion (FGA 08.276)



Bahrām Gūr in the White Pavilion (FGA 08.277)

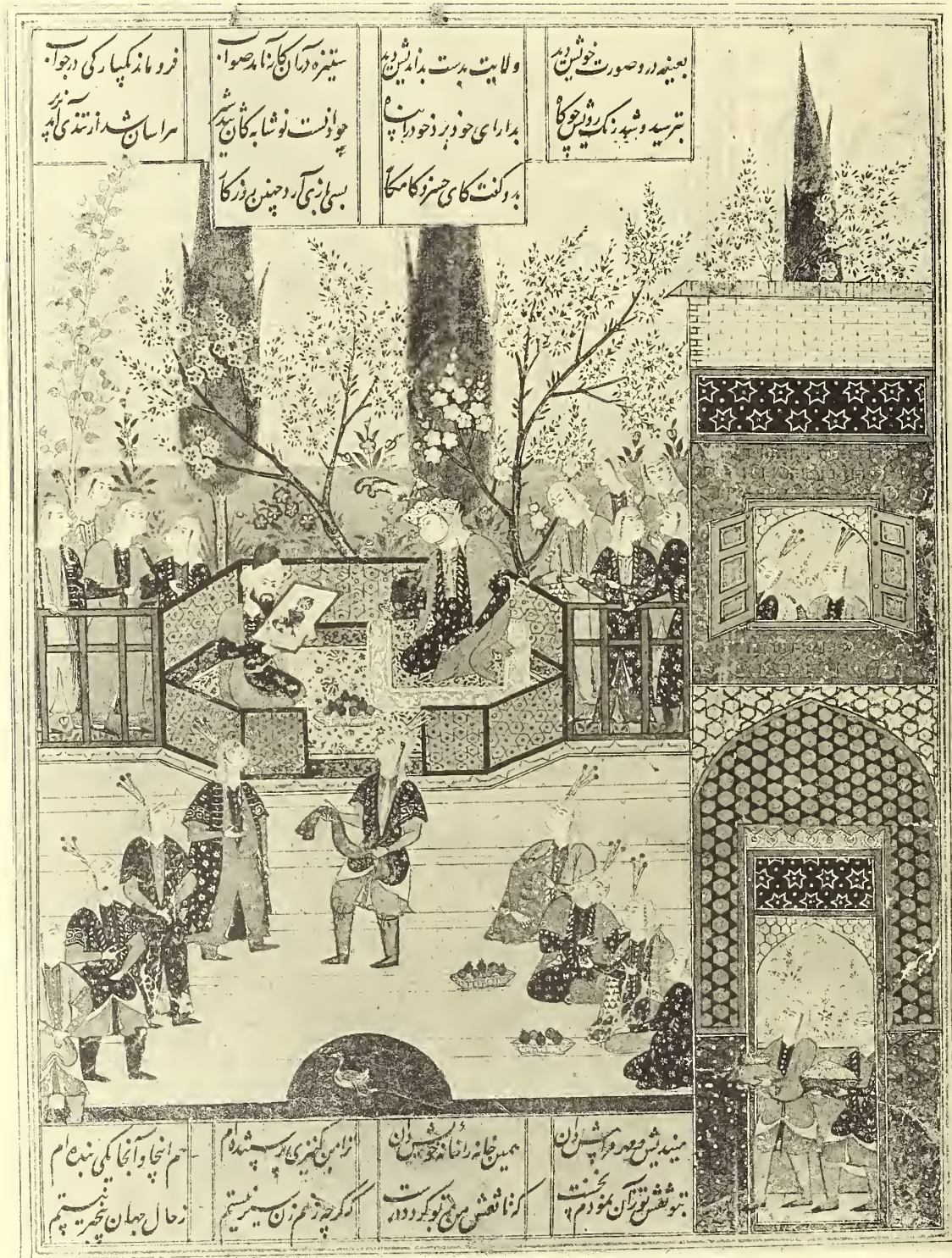


The ascent of the Prophet (*Mi'raj*) (FGA 08.278)





Iskandar in battle with the Zangī (FGA 08.279)



Iskandar is recognized by Queen Nūshāba (FGA 08.280)



Hunting scene (FGA 08.281)



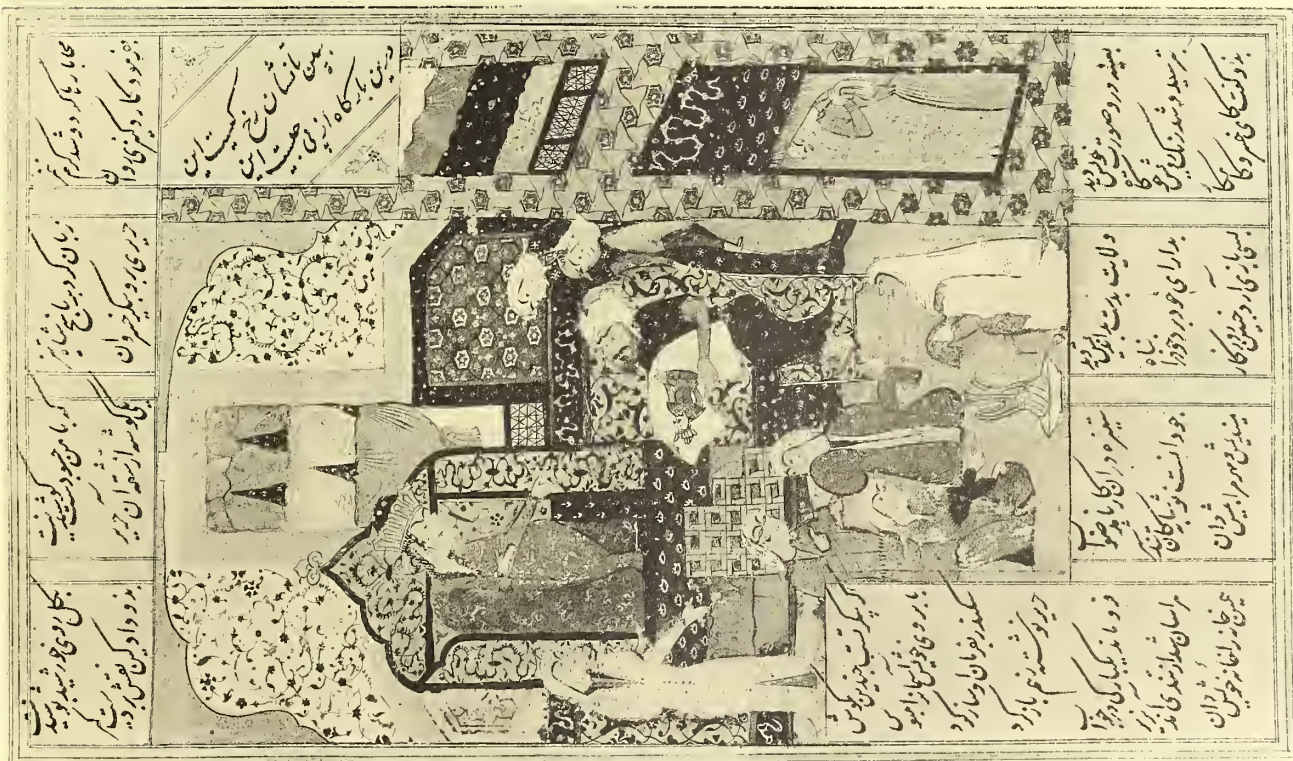
Meeting of al-Khizr (al-Khiḍr) and Ilyās (Elias) at the Fountain of Life  
(FGA 08.282)



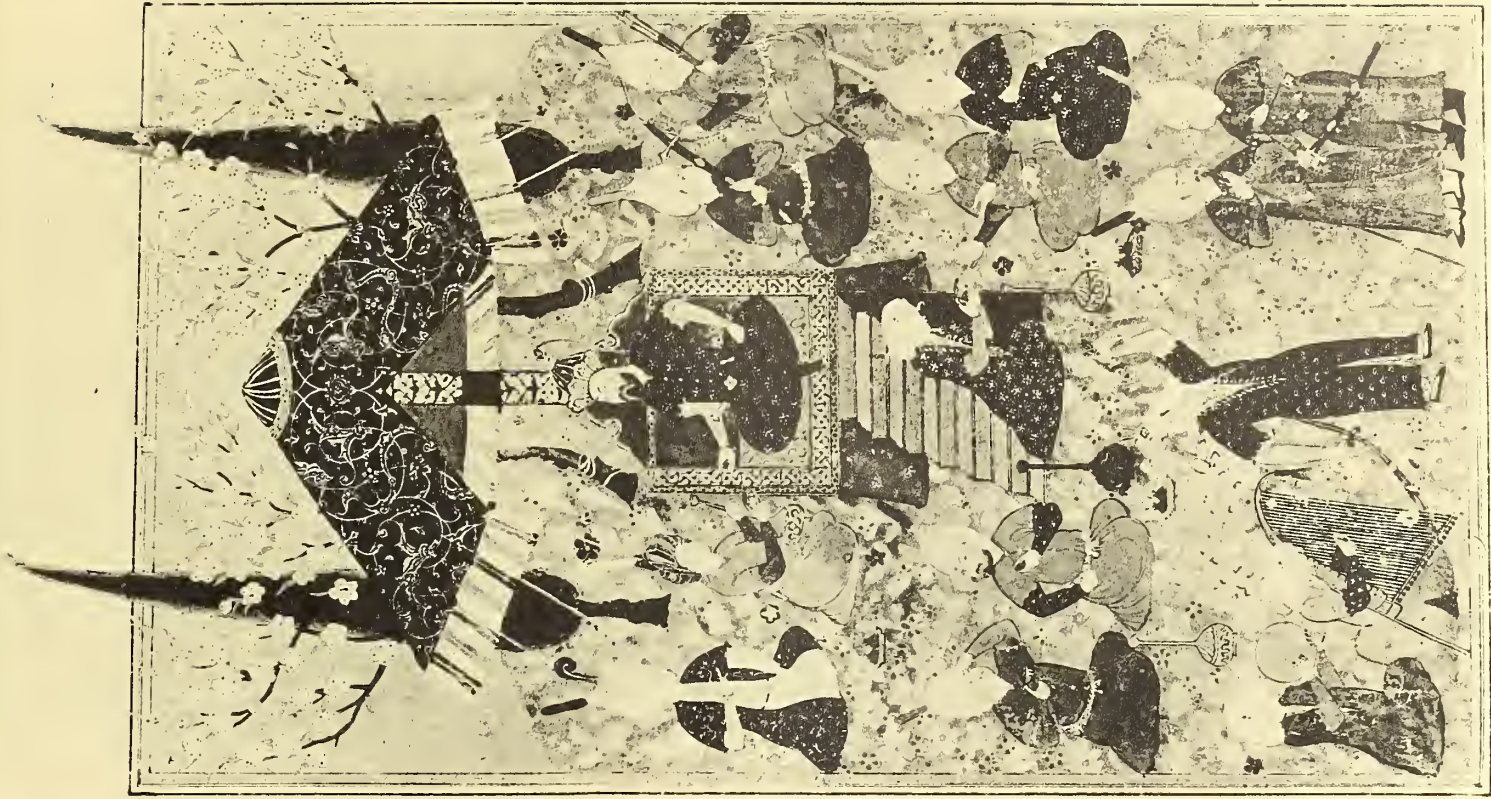
Arrival of Iskandar at the School of Philosophy (FGA 08.283)



Iskandar sees the water maidens at play (FGA 08.284)



A. Iskandar recognized by Queen Nūshāba. 1513 (App., No. 3)  
 Courtesy of H. Kevorkian



B. Tīmūr enthroned. 1523 (App., No. 4)  
 Courtesy of the British Museum



A. Storming a castle. 1523 (App., No. 4)



B. Battle near a tower. 1523 (App., No. 4)



نی جان شد با آنکه کردن از کمال قوت تهنیت است که این با با سوا  
شاه زرده علی نازد



حکمت کز بزم انواع یک مثل شیر و پیمان و غیر آن صرع بندرت در آن کار کرد  
و هم او جان بلیت

B. Tīmūr hunting. 1523 (App., No. 4)

تیسر کرده و آب هران انداخته و ازین نوع جلیها پرداخته و چون آن  
بزرگ کتک از دم شیر



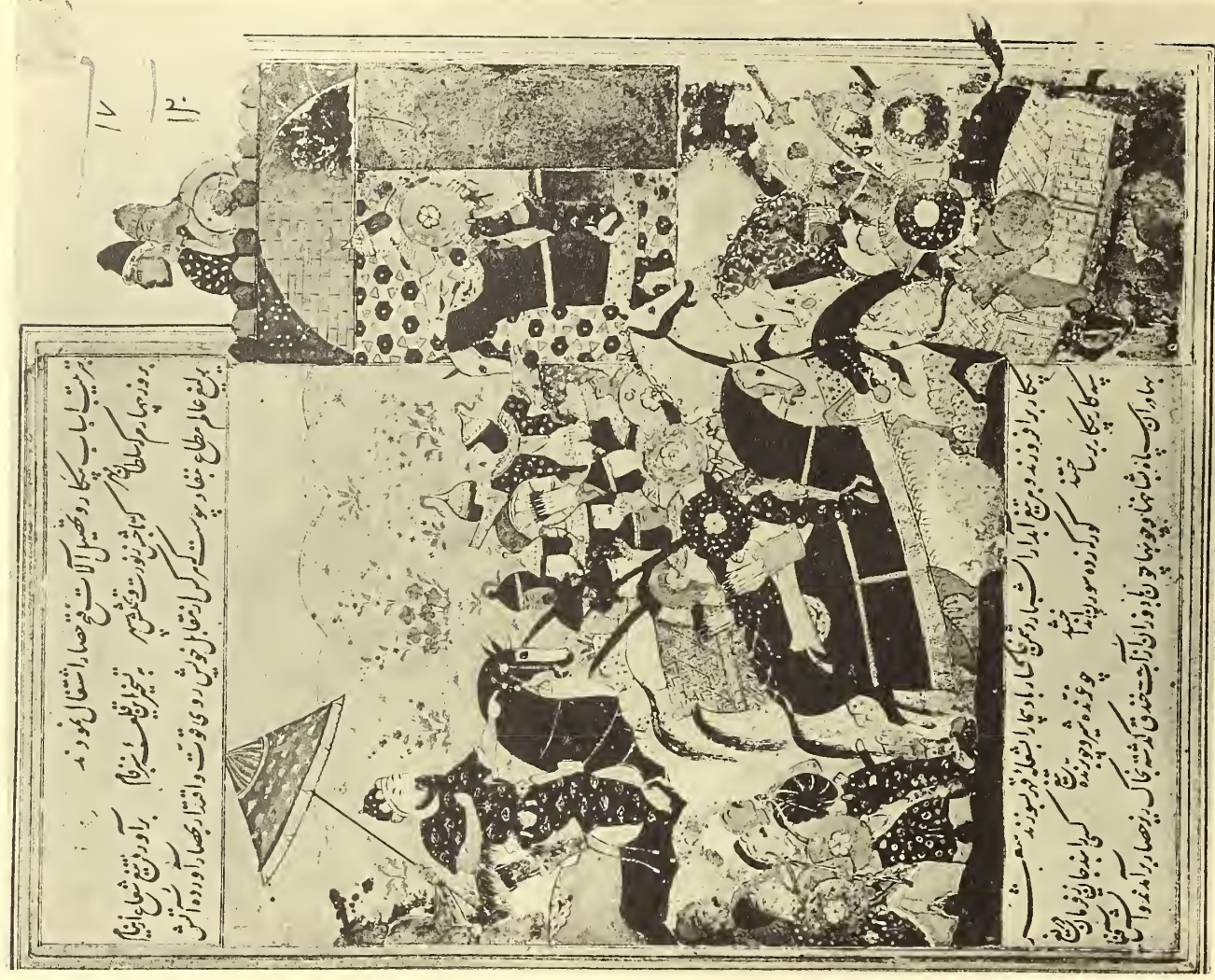
نماده با کشت بسیار و آن چاهها آماده ملاک شدند و فراسی  
سپاه نطفه پناه رو بیز

A. Battle scene. 1523 (App., No. 4)



نوا سازان نواز سازان  
 سرودن نواز سازان  
 بهت ساقیان کباب  
 لیل و لیل در کباب  
 نبر عیش و نشاط طوطا  
 جهان آناه شد هم جا  
 و حضرت صاحب قرآن در عیش و کباب  
 امیرزاده محمد غفر بخش و پادشاه امیرزاده مستور رباب و دختر غیاث الدین ترخان و امیرزاده

الکوبر امیرزاده میرانشاه را با دست امیر جان بیف الدین بر هم شمشیر قضاوت  
 کردند ساخت و زانروز ضعیف و زخمی شد مبارکباد کنگر نیروز نام سپهر است  
 شاهنشا که کوشه کوشه شاهنشاه شاهزاده و در شایسته بلای بخت و در امیر



بزرگت باب سیکار و تحصیل آتخ تصار استقال نمودند  
 بروز همه امیر سلطان که با خبر نوزاد و تقوی  
 به نیر اقلیس بنیاد بر آوردن شمع ازین  
 بلوغ عالم مطلع بنفاد پوست که اسراف تقابل خویش روی قوت و اقتدار بصهار آورده است

سپهسالار نوزاد و تقوی ابدار شاه را با پادشاهان قریب  
 سپهسالار نوزاد و تقوی ابدار شاه را با پادشاهان قریب  
 سپهسالار نوزاد و تقوی ابدار شاه را با پادشاهان قریب  
 سپهسالار نوزاد و تقوی ابدار شاه را با پادشاهان قریب

A. Timūr feasting. 1533 (App., No. 8)

B. Timūr sallies forth. 1533 (App., No. 8)



B. Yūsuf sold into bondage. n.d. (App., No. 23)

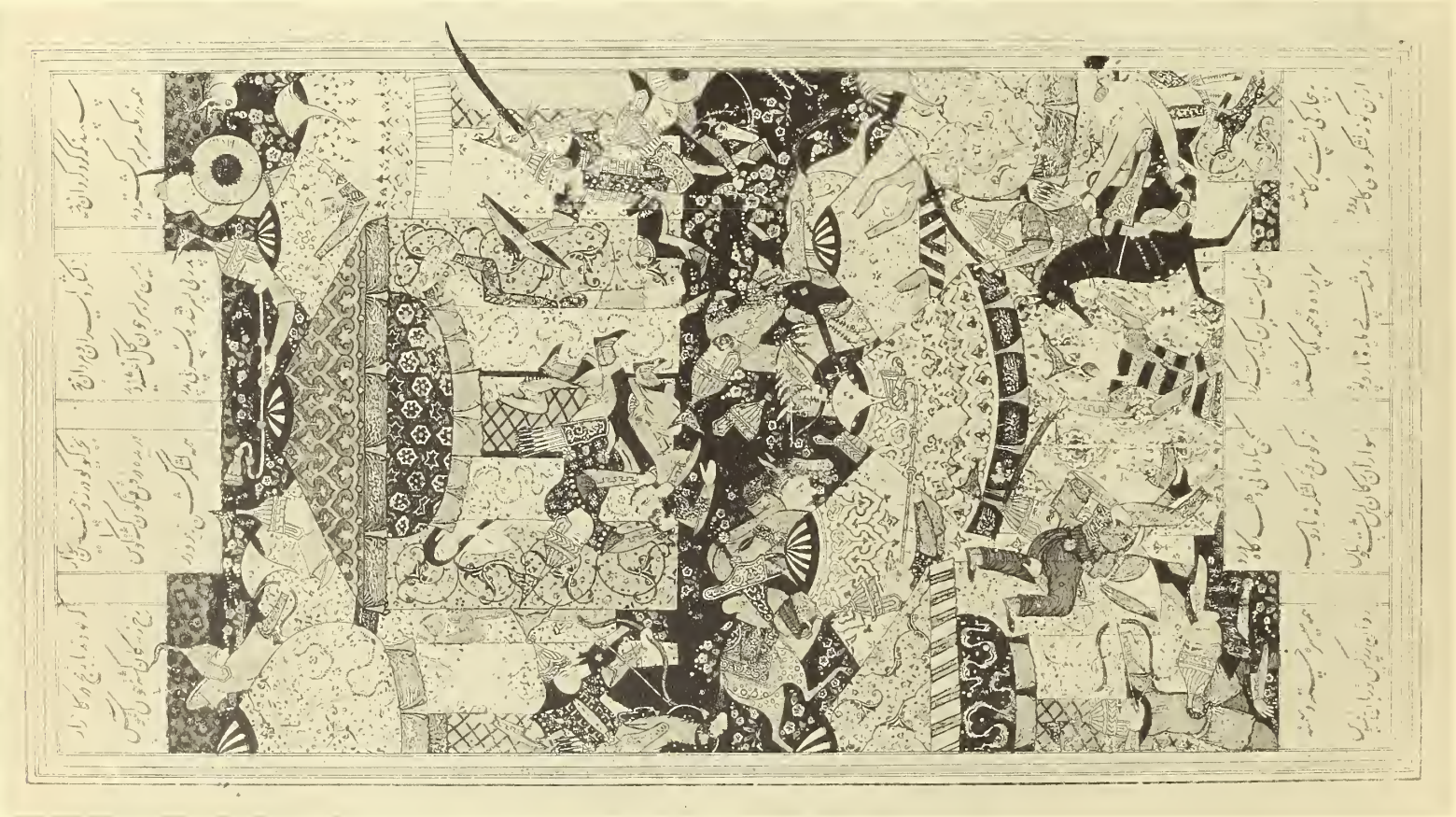


A. Death of Timūr. 1533 (App., No. 8)

Courtesy of The Library of The India Office



B. Rescue of Bizhan by Rustam. 1539 (App., No. 14)



A. Pīrān's night attack on the Iranians. 1539 (App., No. 14)


کلان بایانم در درخت سحرآمیز	همچو ز تخم کبک کلان آمد	چو باد از سپهر آید	ز نام آفتاب سیاحت برآید
سین فریبش چو فریاد	رو با او چون سحر	عنان درون در او آید از کبک	چو باد از سپهر آید
سخت بر سر کلان آید کرد	از دروغ شایع کبک آید کرد	برندگی که آید از کبک	در آید کبک چو کلان آید کرد



ز حضرت شاد برف آید	مش چون کو بر برف آید	عالم بر باد در آید	چو برف کز کبک آید
کوه را بی اسم با آید	سنان شاد کبک آید	کو در آید بر برف آید	کز برف کبک آید
کلان بی که آید	کوه را از برف آید	بازی از آید	چو برف کبک آید
ز حضرت شاد برف آید	کوه را بی اسم با آید	عالم بر باد در آید	چو برف کز کبک آید

A. Khusraw discovers Shirin in the pool. n.d. (App., No. 48)

کردان و سنان از خانه	زیرا که در کله است	سبیلی از شهر است	چون از دیدن او آید
آید از خراب غای	زیرا که در کله است	سبیلی از شهر است	چون از دیدن او آید
زیرا که در کله است	سبیلی از شهر است	چون از دیدن او آید	زیرا که در کله است



برو میسایان در عاقبت	پیران در حرم آید	سبیلی از شهر آید	زیرا که در کله است
کس بر آن حرم آید	پیران در حرم آید	سبیلی از شهر آید	زیرا که در کله است
زیرا که در کله است	سبیلی از شهر آید	چون از دیدن او آید	زیرا که در کله است

B. Majnun at the tent of Laila. n.d. (App., No. 48)



ازین برده می آید شای  
 با صحبت ز دست کتک  
 کرده در صحت کتک بازی  
 ازیم در میان خونخوار  
 زین چو پشم پیکه او را  
 در تکه دو آتش پیسته  
 ازین پشمک در شادان

آزاده جانی از دنیا  
 حاشی بر او کمان  
 آنرا که ز صفت او بیرون  
 تا کشته طبع او را  
 تو خانی را که در این  
 بریده بود بر او  
 تا آتش عشق او نسوزد  
 در تو تو برین دران نماند

B. Majnūn in the desert. 1537 (App., No. 12)

Courtesy of H. Kevoorkian

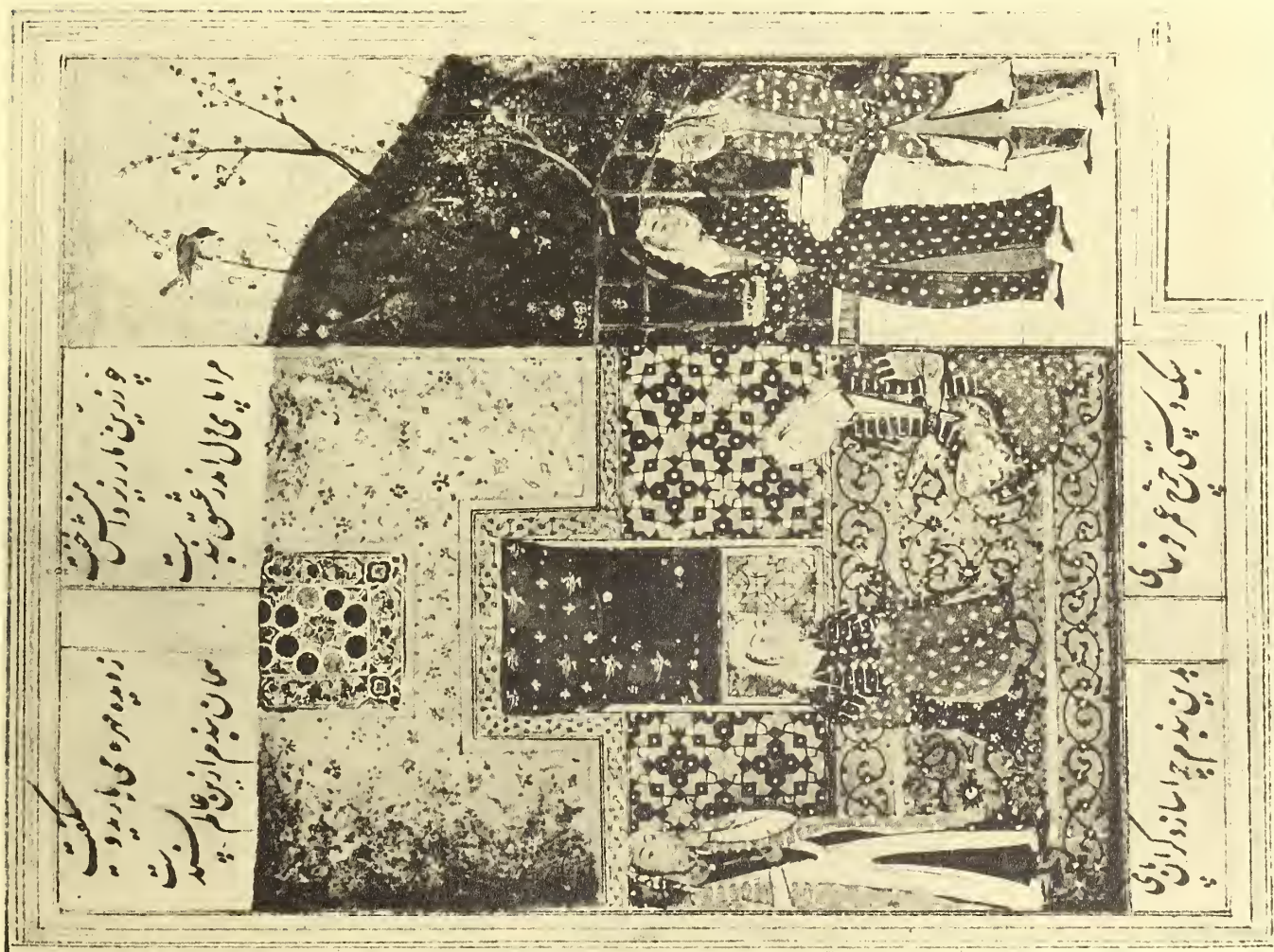


کنش از طرفه را بر آید  
 در آن شب آتش روی بن  
 حکم بر کشیدند چو روی آید  
 ز رخسار زلفه خا هم برین  
 جهان را در سرودن کوی  
 کد خاند علاج را کس  
 در آن شب دید که کوی  
 چو بر باران چو پشم  
 چو بر باران چو پشم  
 چو بر باران چو پشم

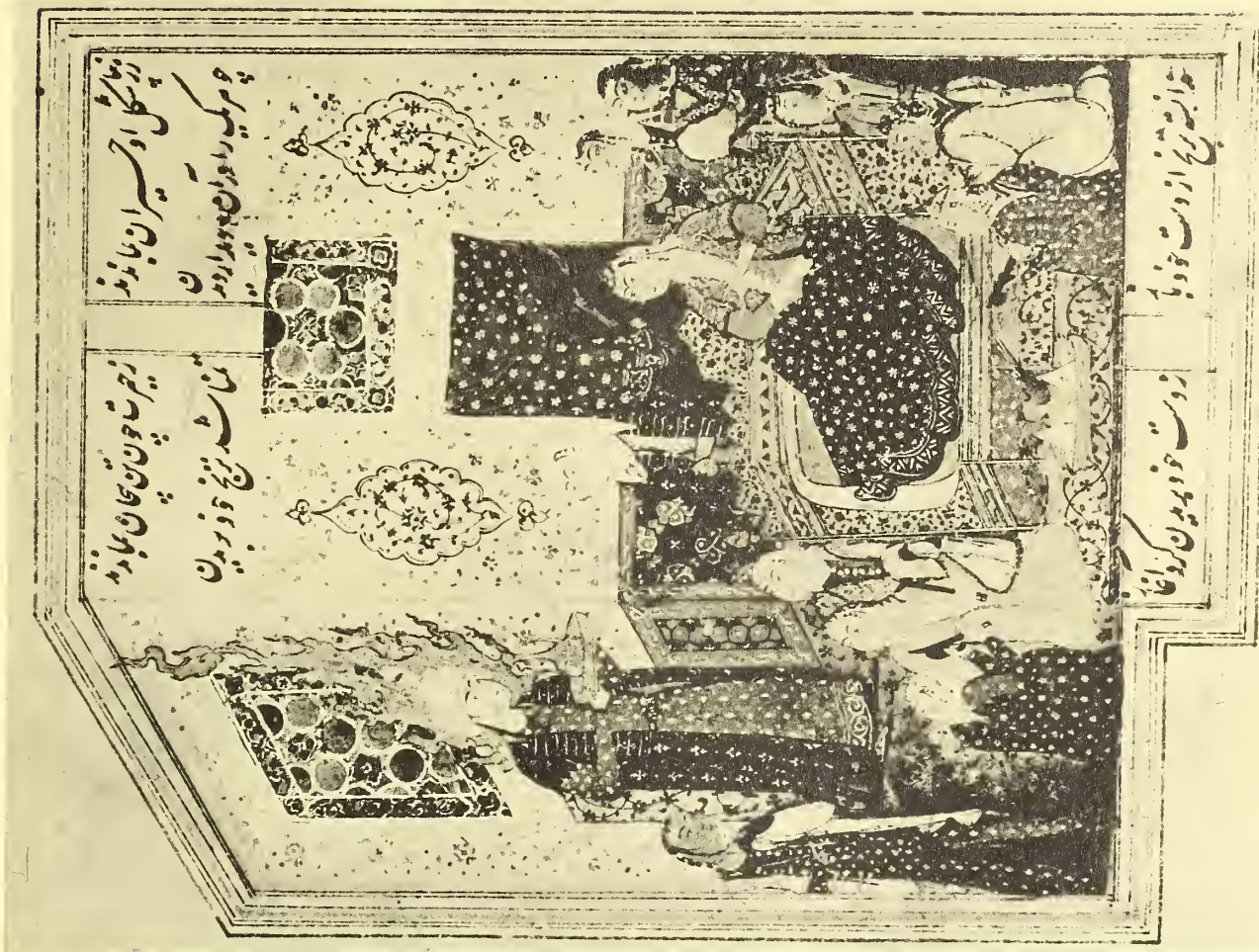
عکرم شادون برون  
 آنگاه سنده و کر که در بهم  
 بدان سخن برین کوی  
 سکنج بود طای آن برون  
 سردی تو این از سرور  
 بر این زنده کس کس  
 بر این زنده کس کس  
 بر این زنده کس کس  
 بر این زنده کس کس

A. Iskandar sees the water maidens. n.d. (App., No. 48)

Courtesy of the British Museum

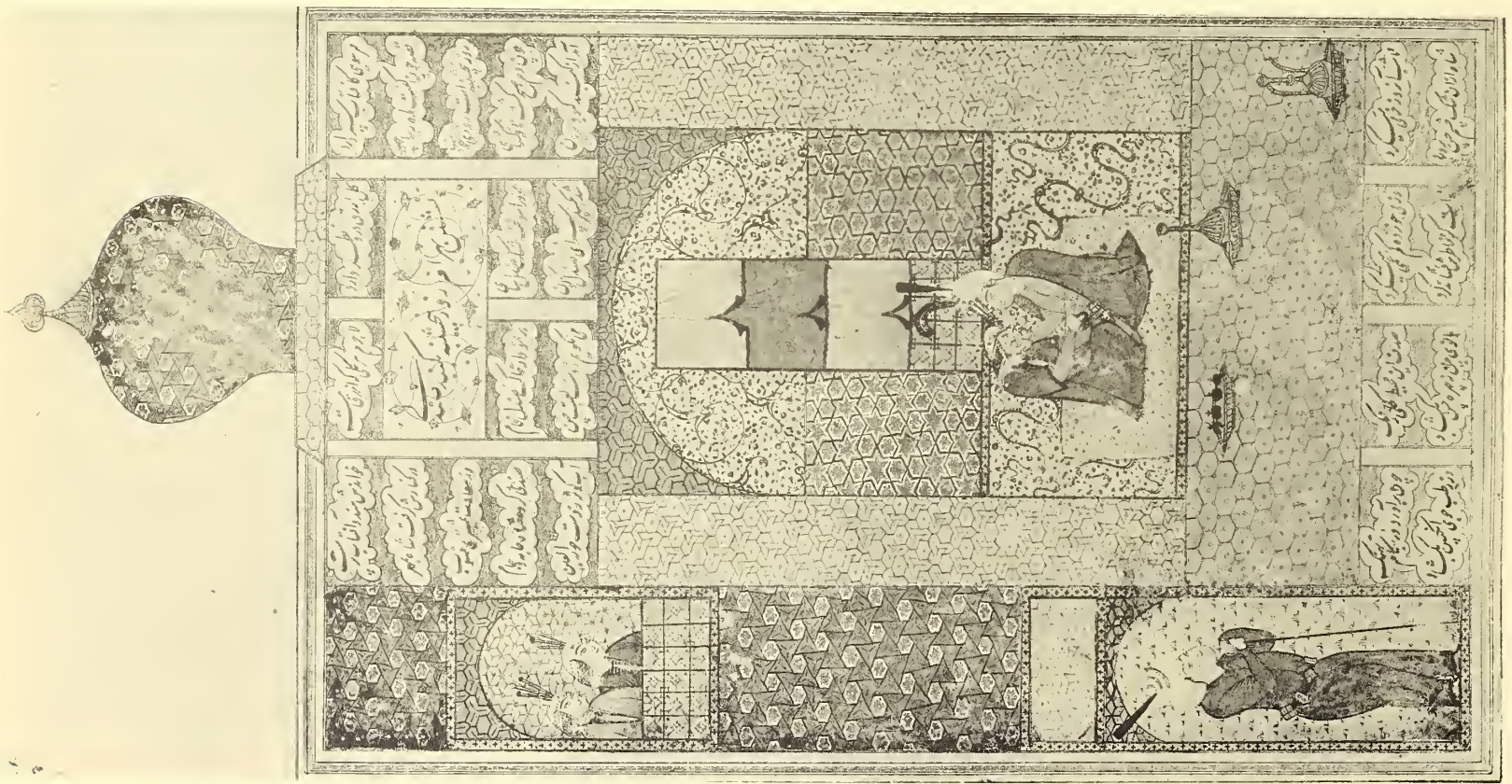


A. Zulaikha and her companions. 1547 (App., No. 22)

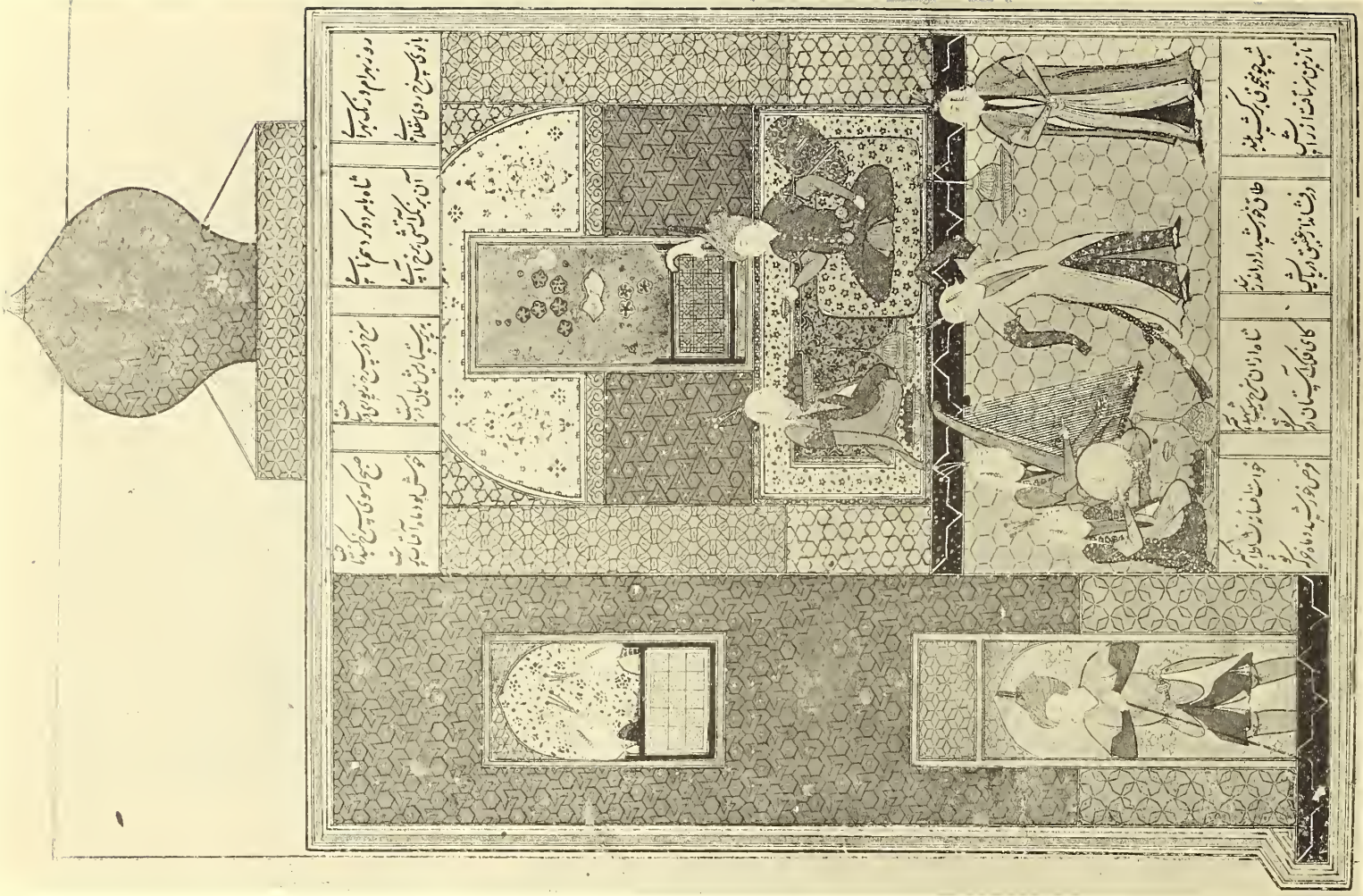


B. Zulaikha and her companions startled by the beauty of Yūsof. 1547 (App., No. 22)

Courtesy of The Library of Cambridge University

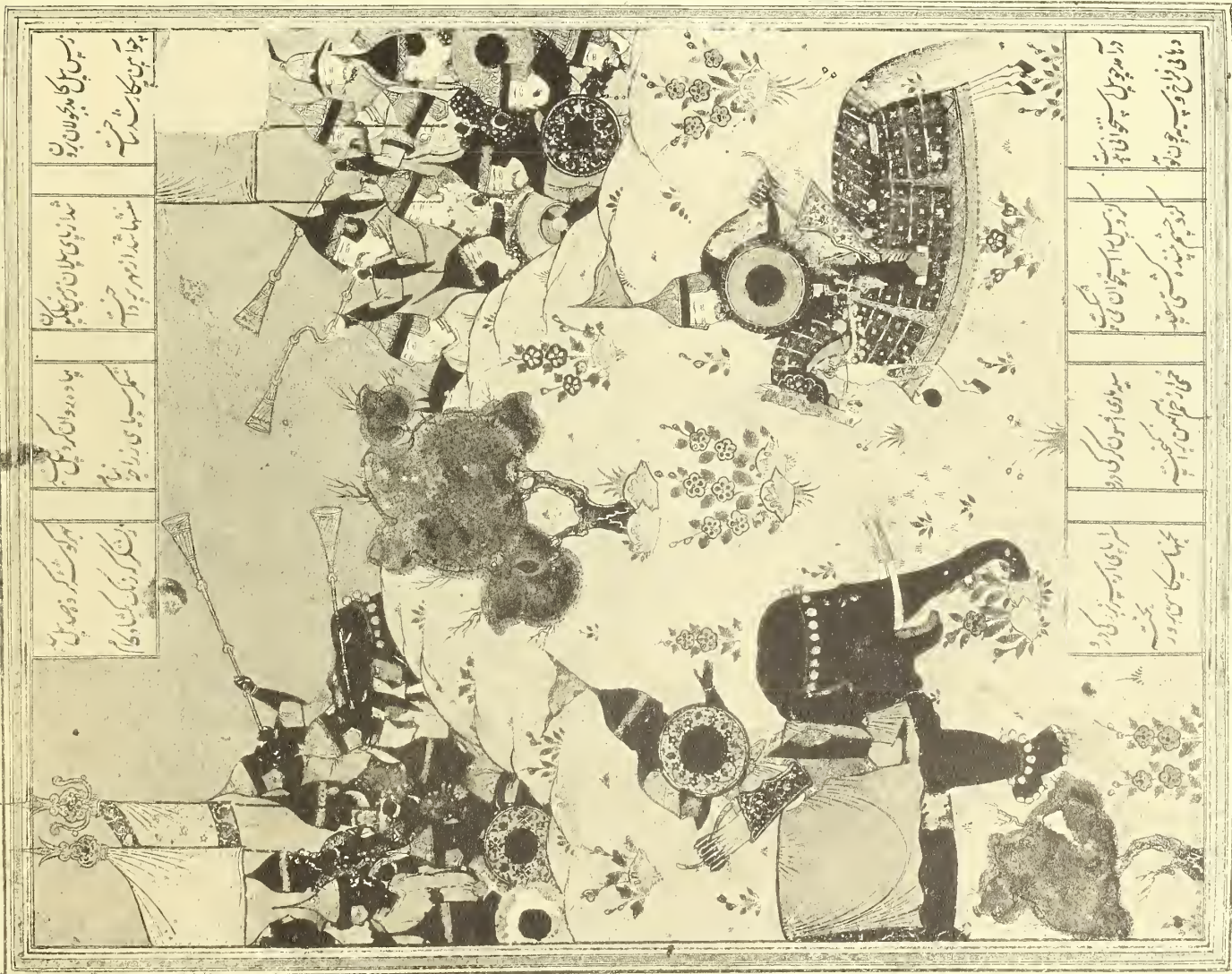


A. Bahrām Gūr in the Yellow Pavilion. 1537  
(App., No. 12)



B. Bahrām Gūr in the Red Pavilion. 1509-1510 (App., No. 53)





A. Battle between Iskandar and the Zangi. 1509-1510 (App., No. 53)

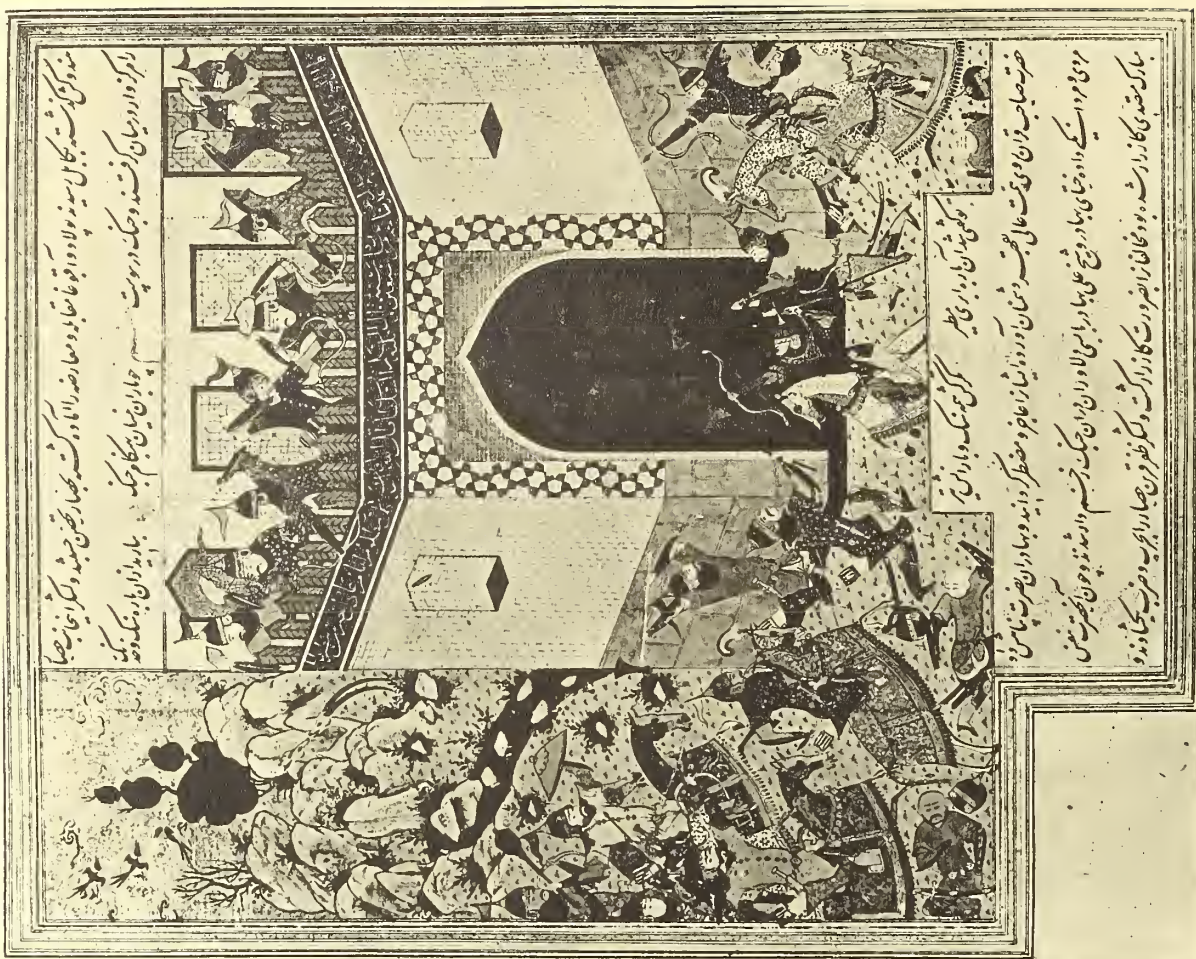


B. Khusraw discovers Shirin in the pool. 1509-1510 (App., No. 53)

Courtesy of H. Kevorkian



A. Arrival of the bride of Tīmūr. 1528-1529 (App., No. 45)

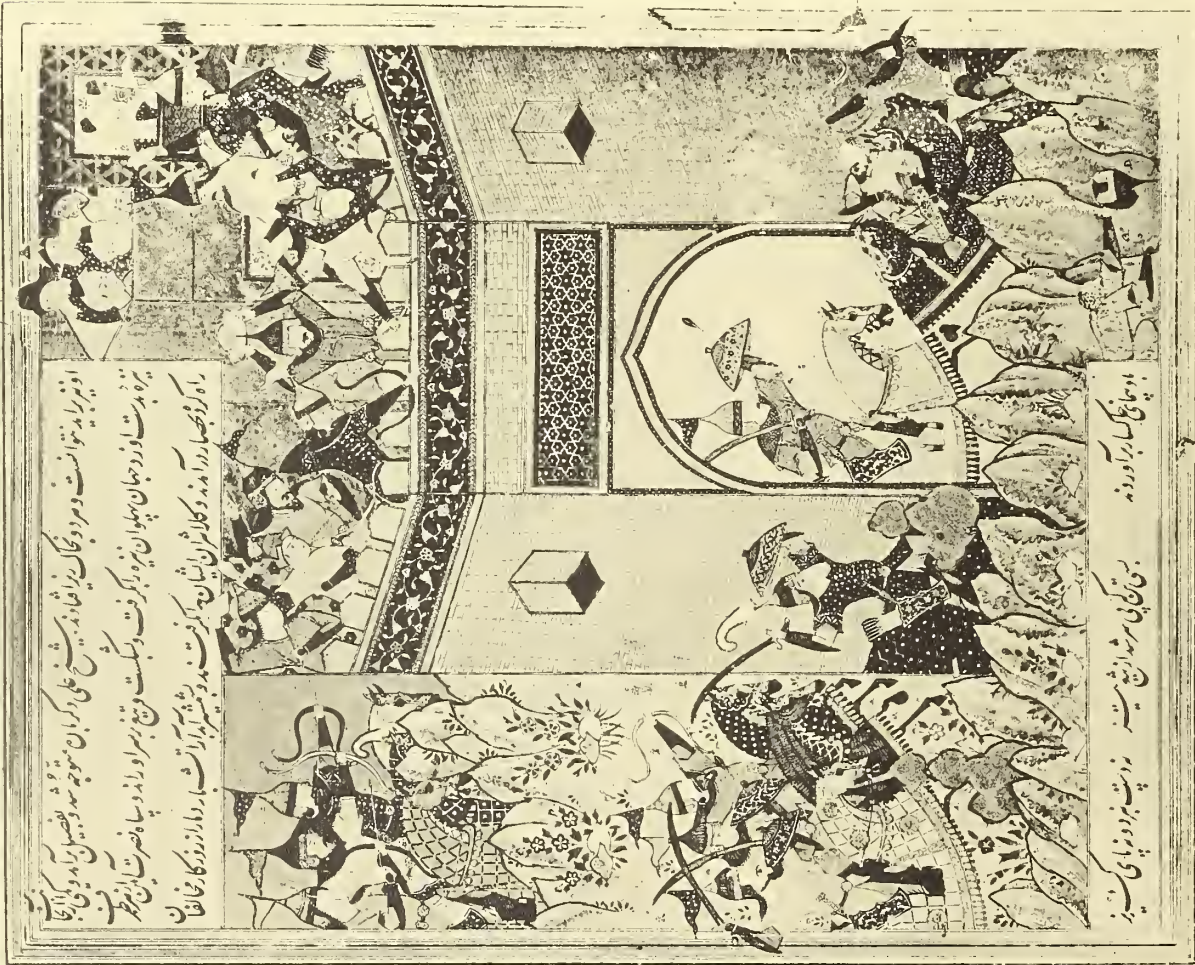


B. Storming a city. 1528-1529 (App., No. 45)



Night attack on a walled town. 1548 (App., No. 20)

Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

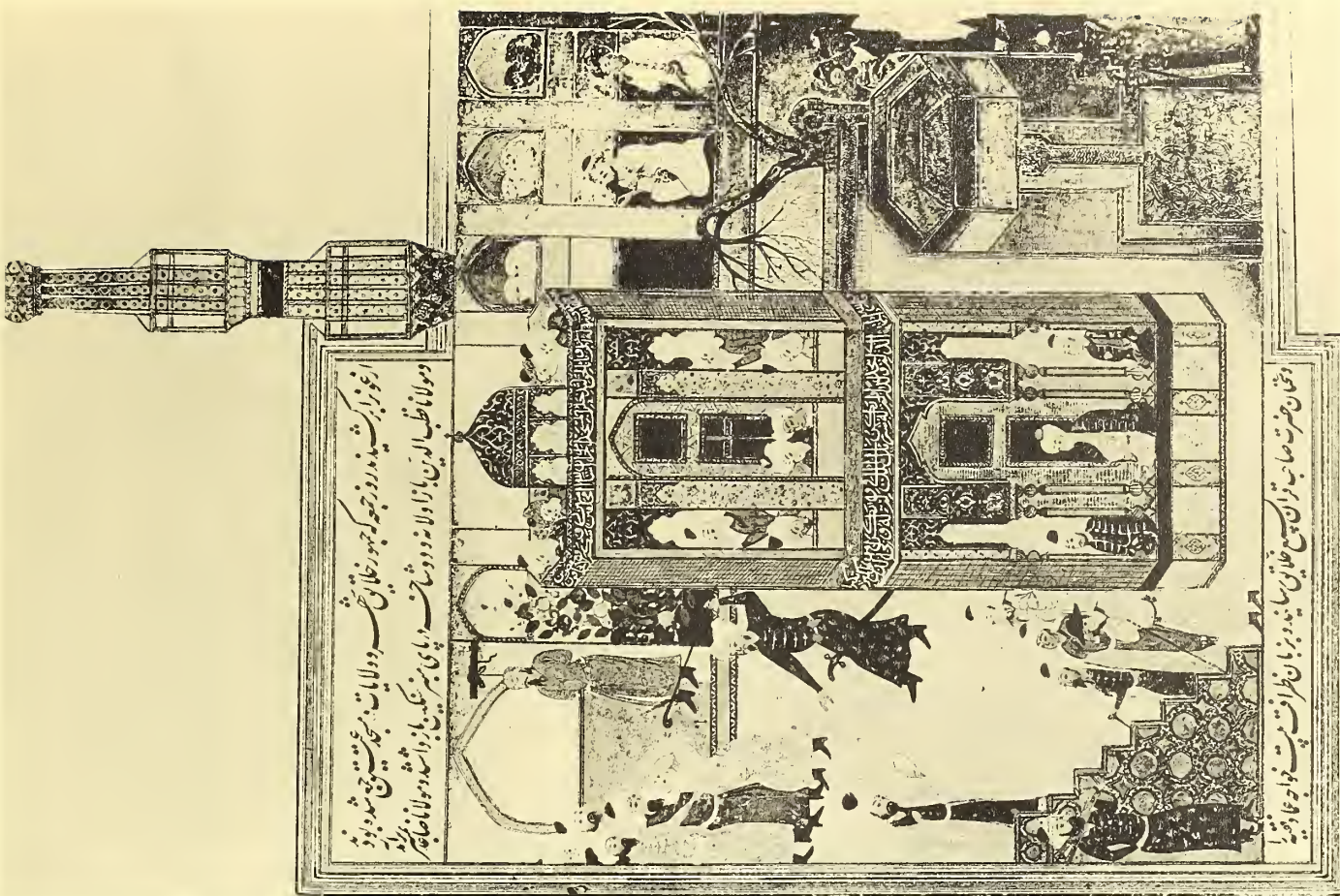


A. Storming a city wall. 1552 (App., No. 29)



B. Parley on a battlefield. 1552 (App., No. 29)

Courtesy of the British Museum



B. Judgment scene in a courtyard of a mosque. 1552 (App., No. 29)



A. Timūr hunting near Multān. 1552 (App., No. 29)

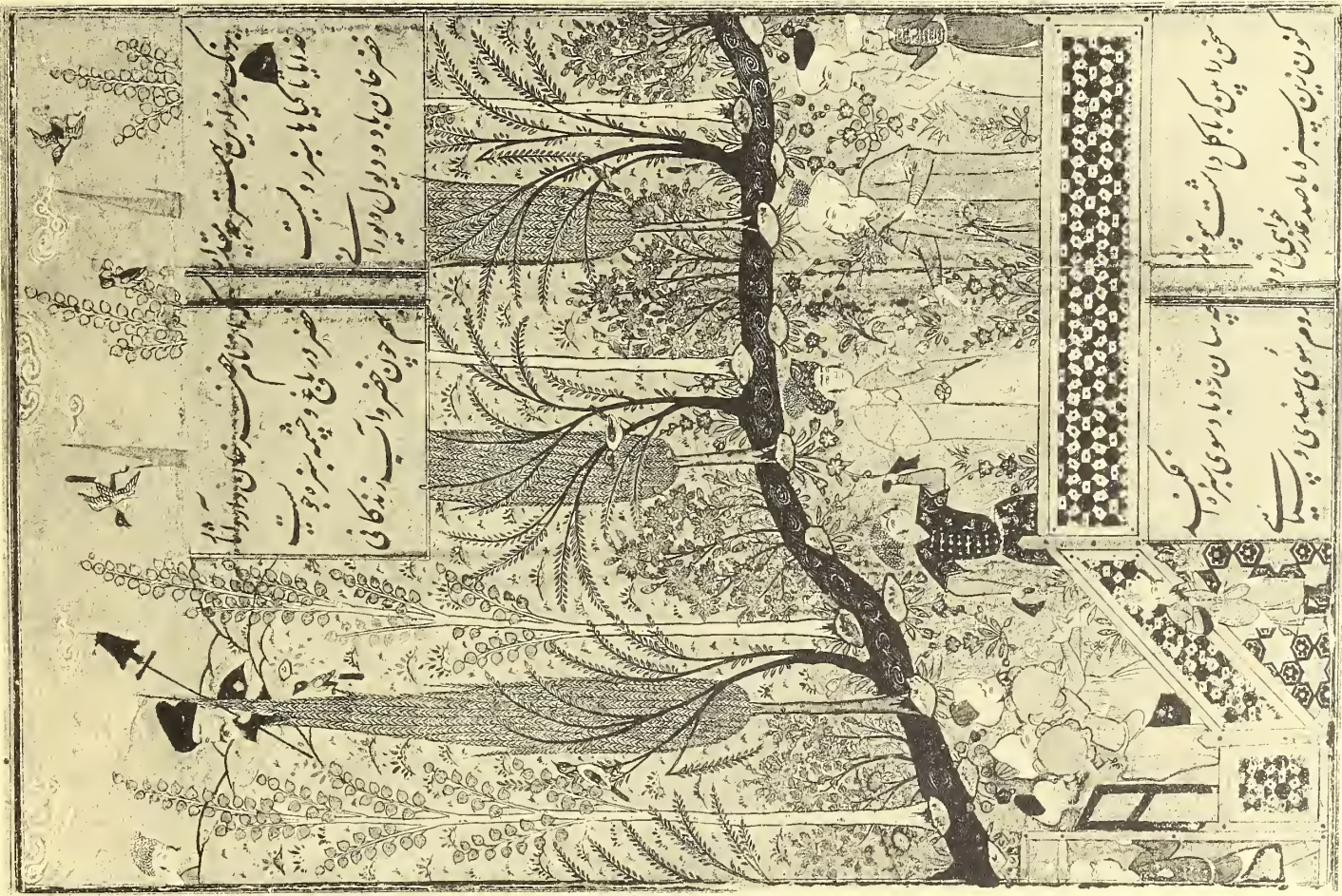


A. Sultān Sanjar and the old woman. n.d. (App., No. 50)



B. Battle between Khusraw and Bahrām Chūbin. n.d. (App., No. 50)

Courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery



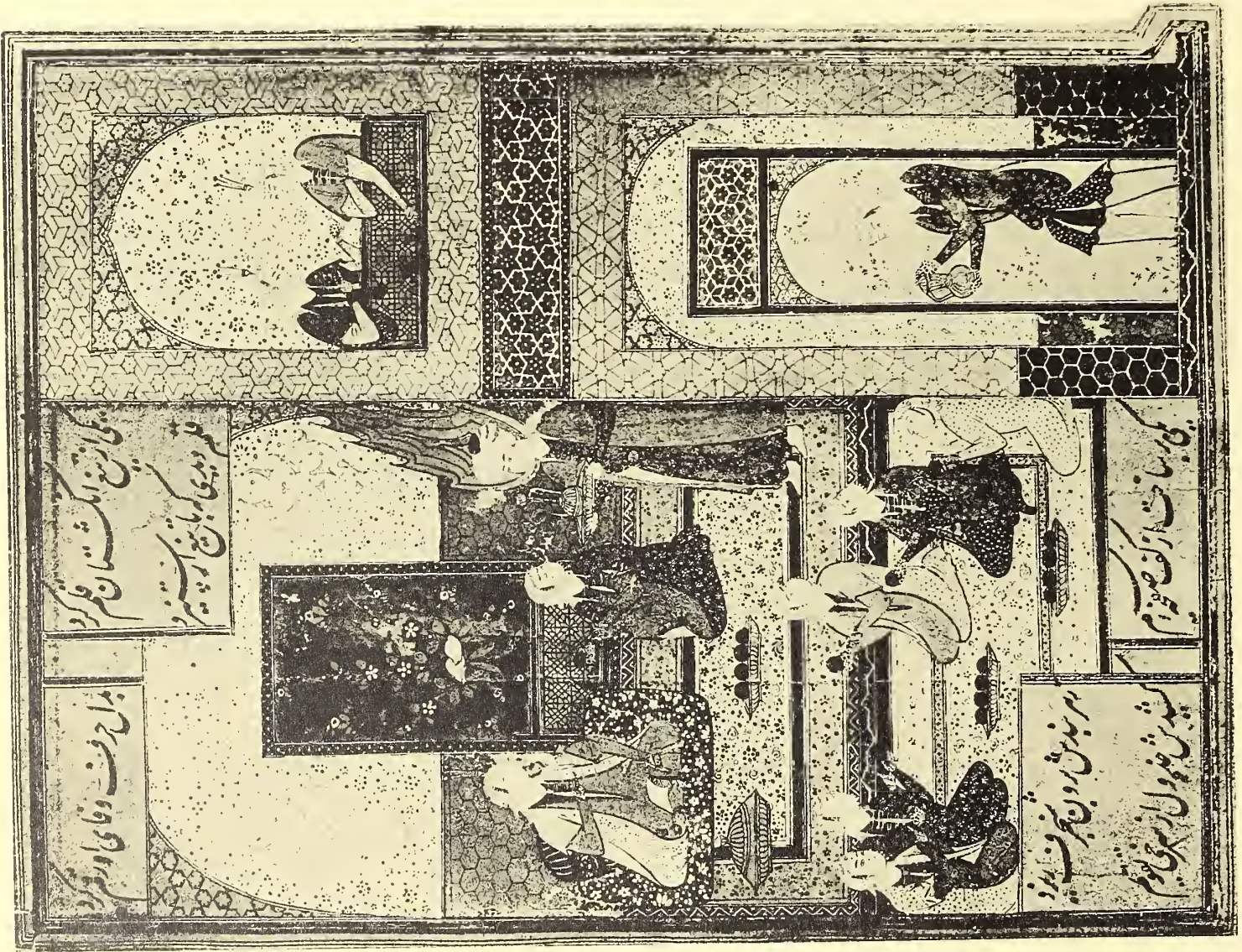
A. Gathering in a garden. Signed "Kāfi." n.d. (App., No. 36)

Courtesy of H. Kevorkian

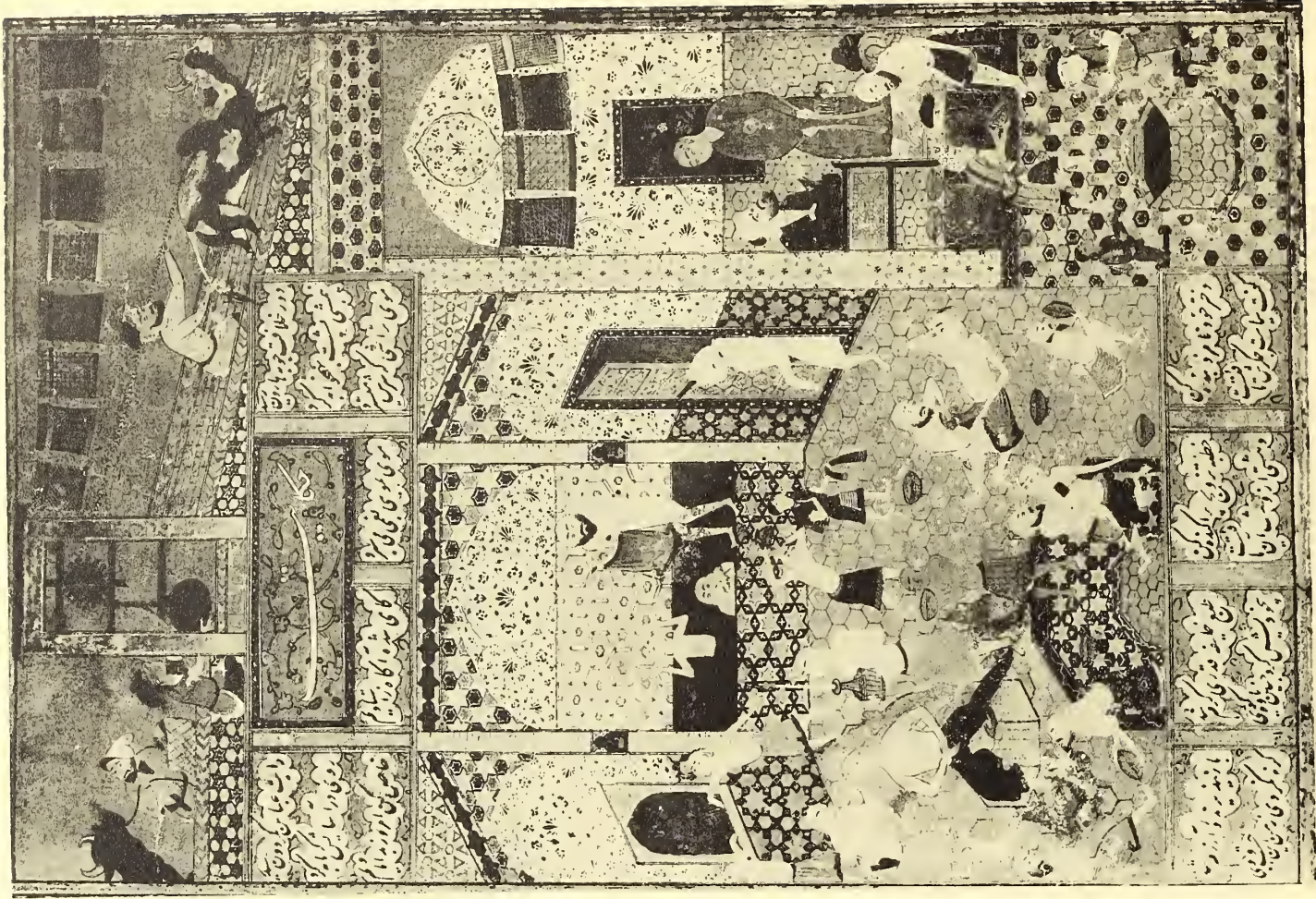


B. Young prince holding a feast. n.d. (App., No. 36)

Courtesy of H. Kevorkian

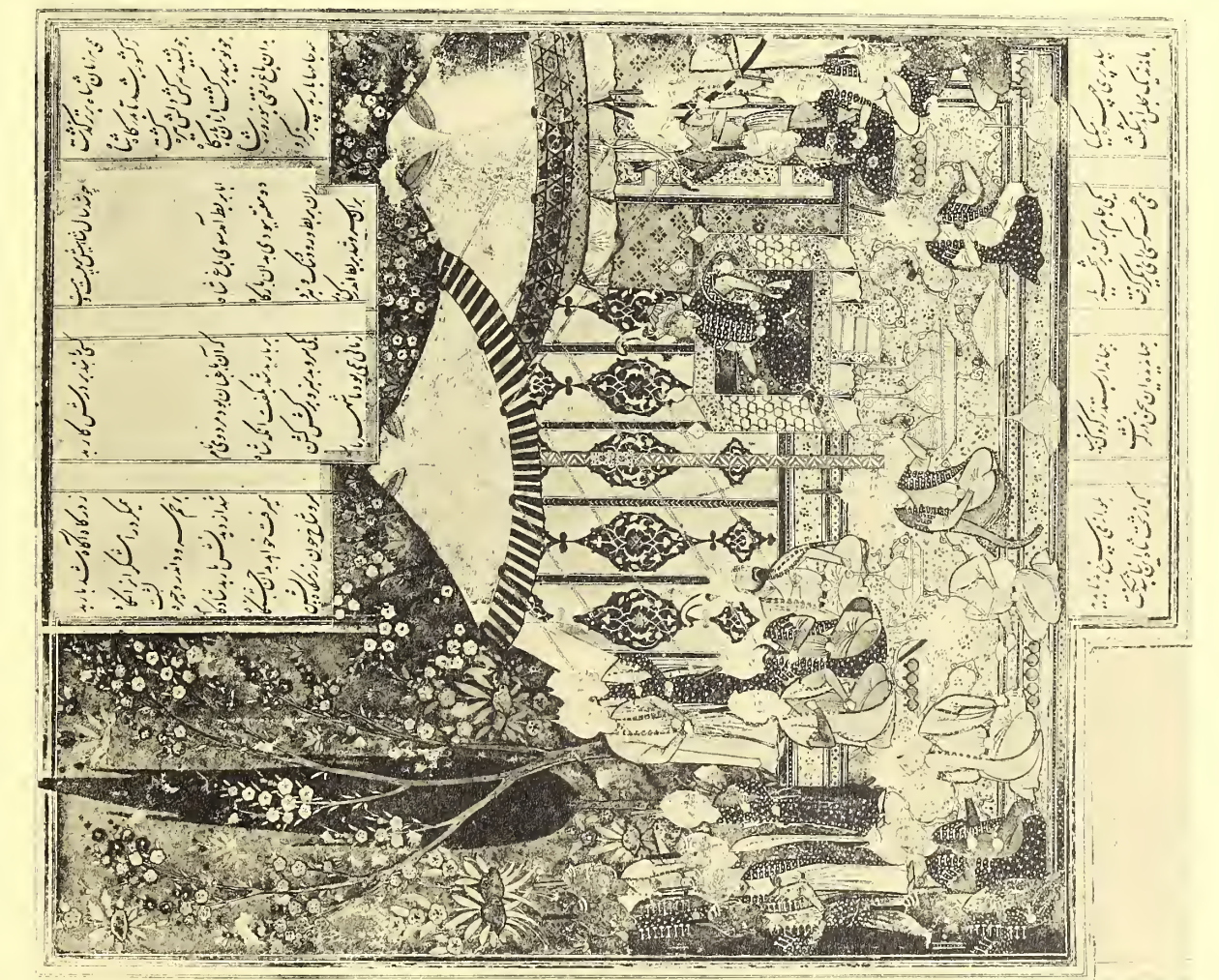


A. Yūsuf astonishes the companions of Zulaikhā. n.d. (App., No. 24)  
 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

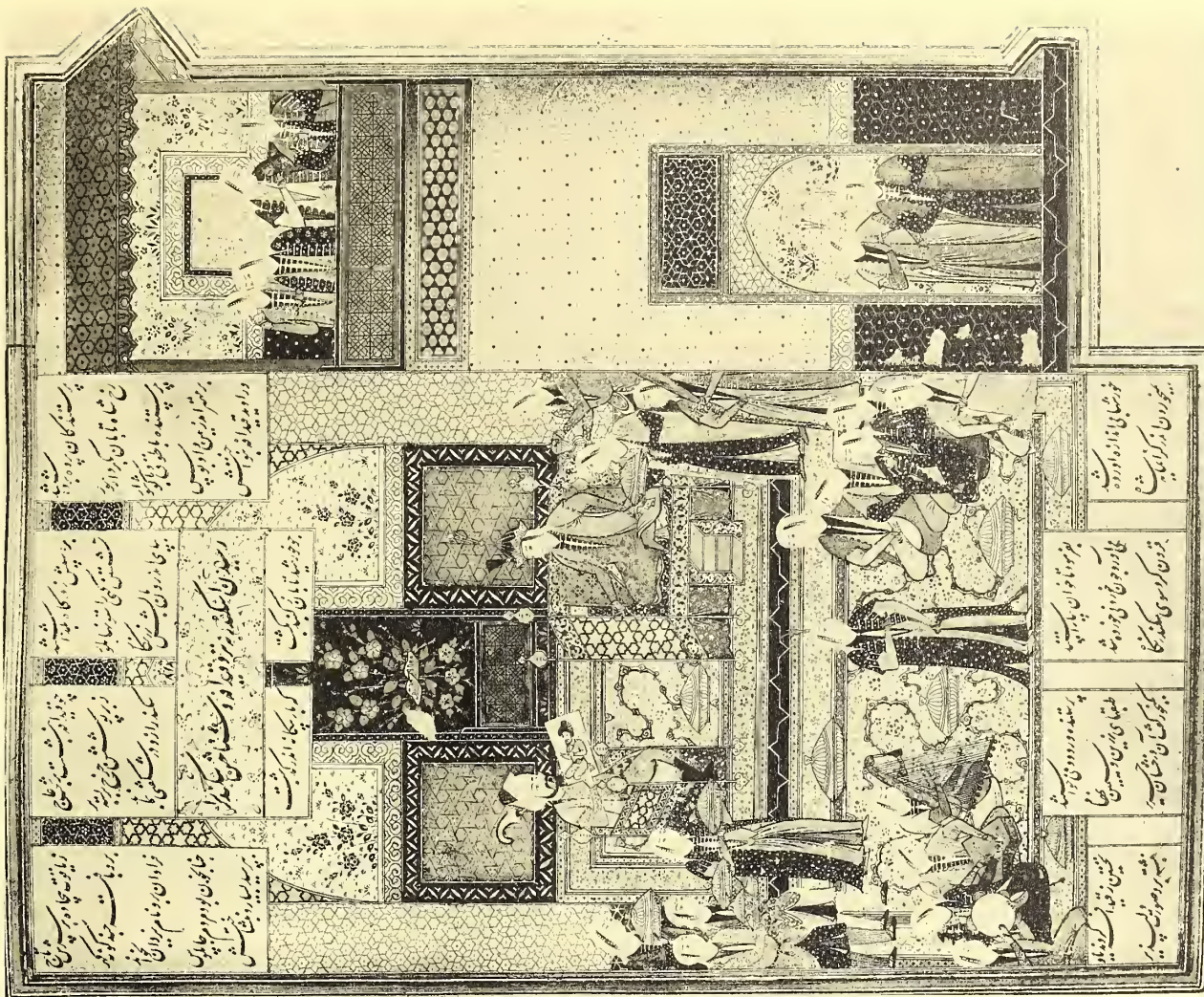


B. The Caliph and the barber. 1562-1563 (App., No. 37)  
 Courtesy of Princeton University Library



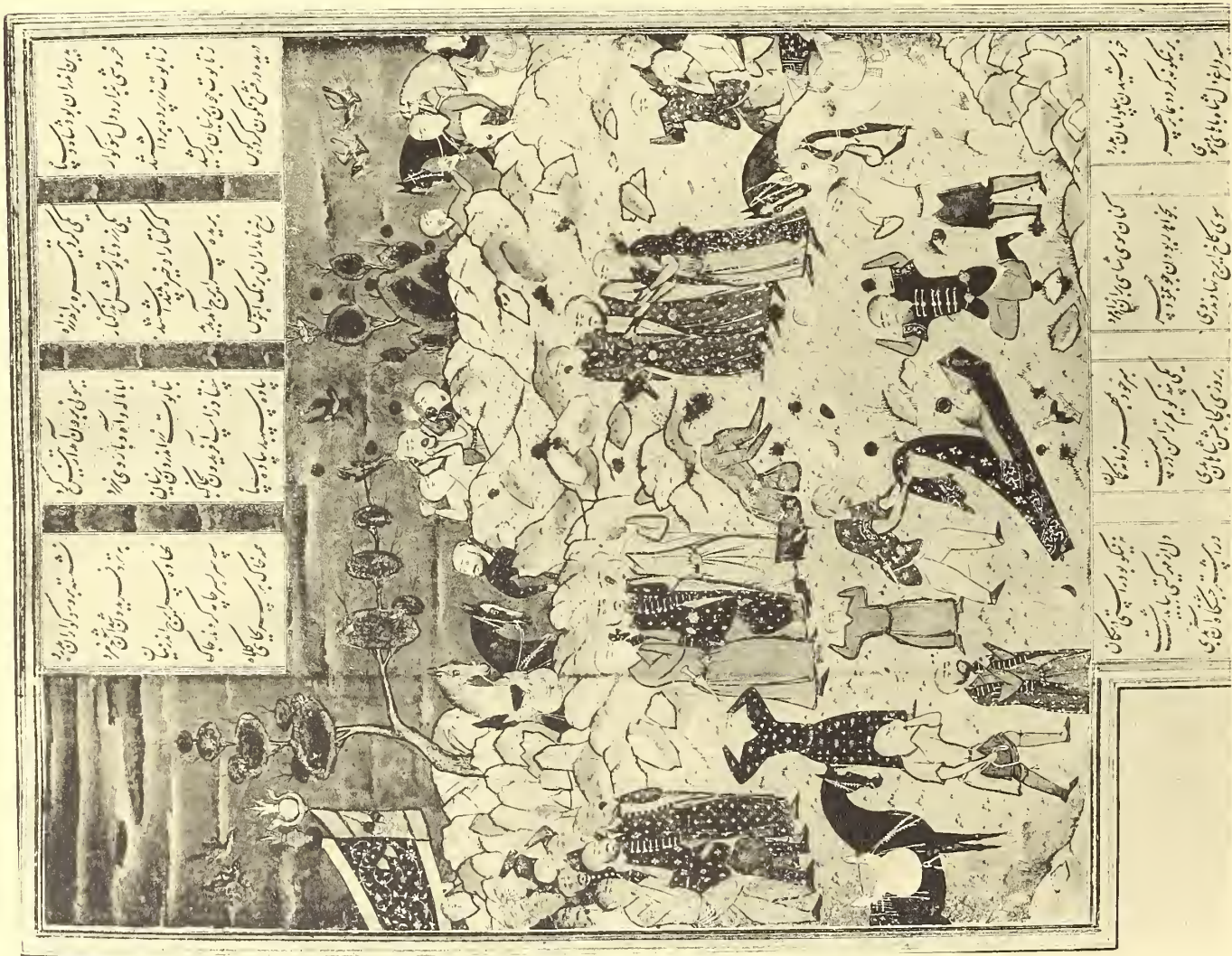


A. Feast in a garden. 1560 (App., No. 35)



B. Iskandar is recognized by Queen Nūshāba. 1560 (App., No. 35)

Courtesy of The Library of The India Office



A. Mourning the death of Īraj. 1560 (App., No. 35)

Courtesy of The Library of The India Office



B. Troops of horsemen. 1569 (App., No. 52)

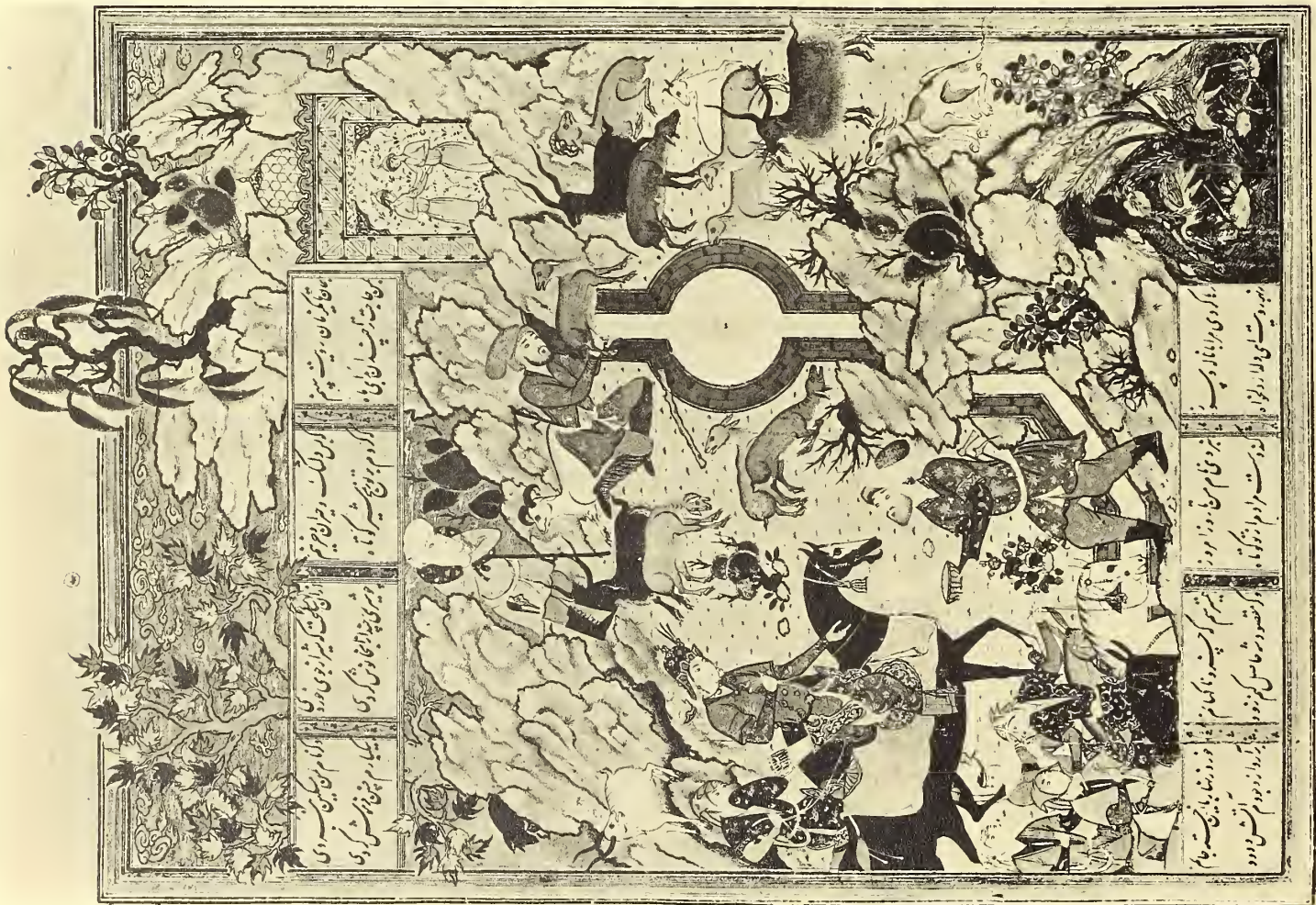
Courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery



A. A battue. 1569 (App., No. 52)  
 Courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery



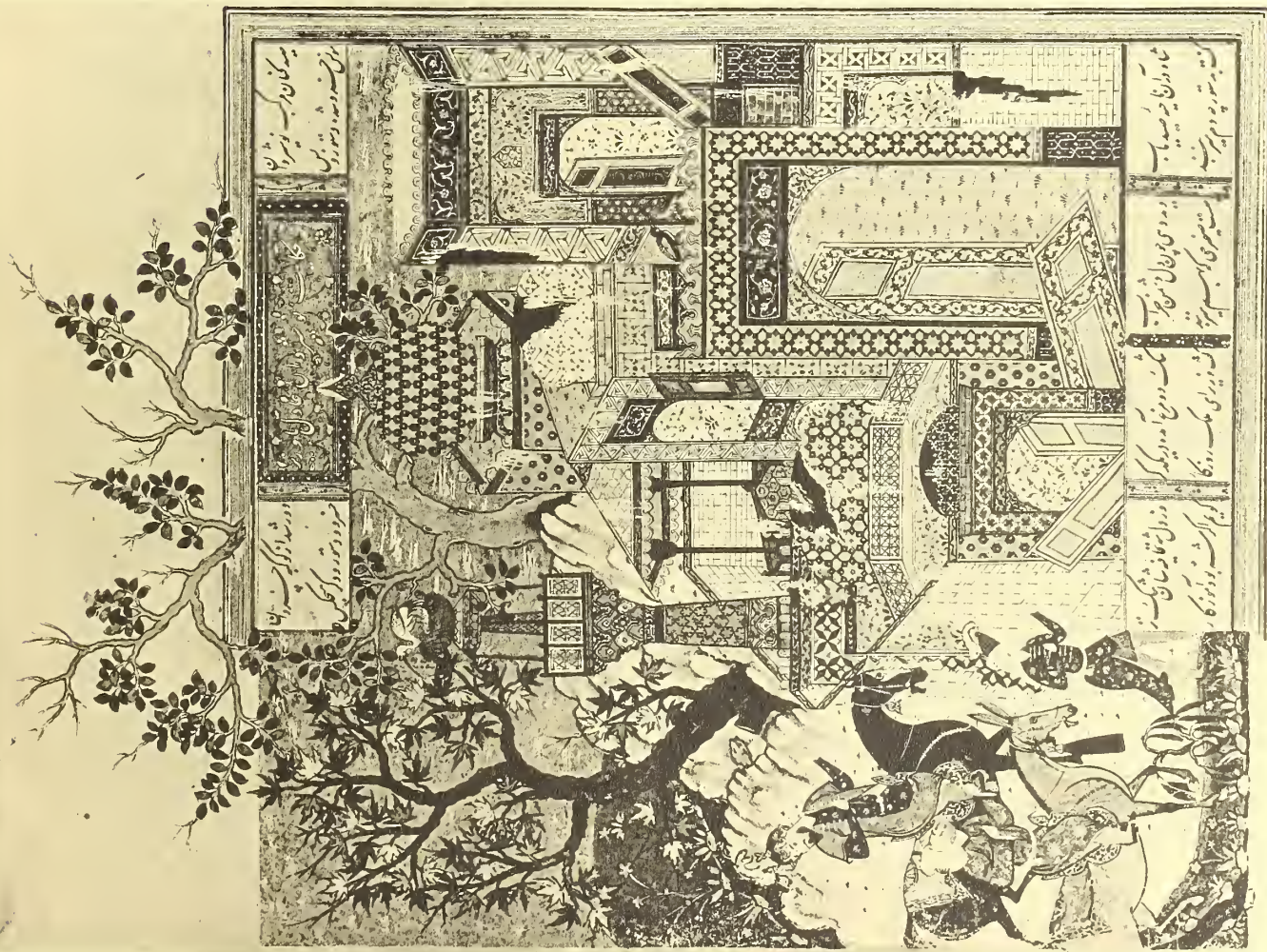
B. A hunting scene. 1580 (App., No. 39)  
 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art



A. Farhad offers Shirin milk from the conduit. Probably 1584  
(App., No. 43)

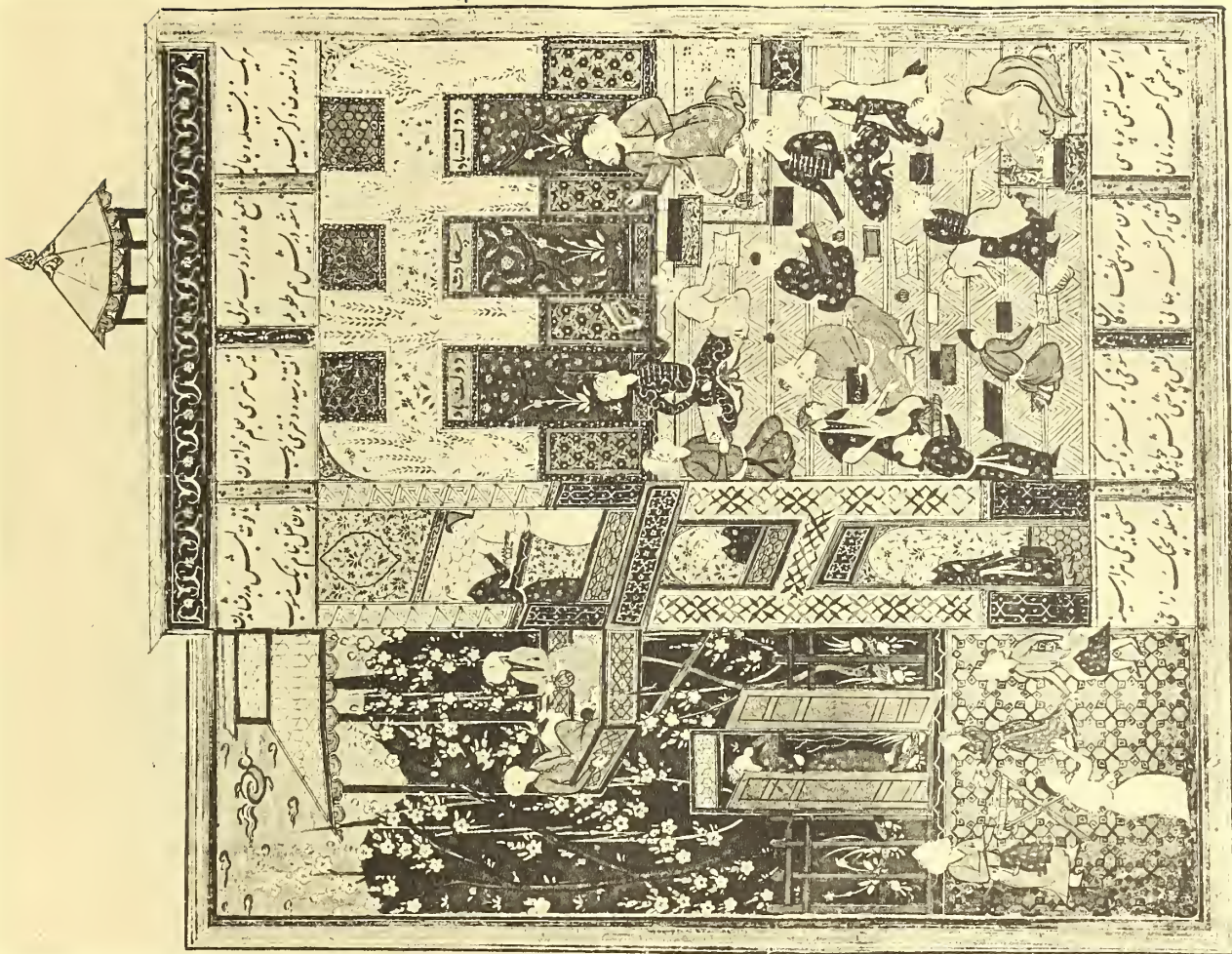


B. Bahram Gur fighting a dragon. Probably 1584  
(App., No. 43)

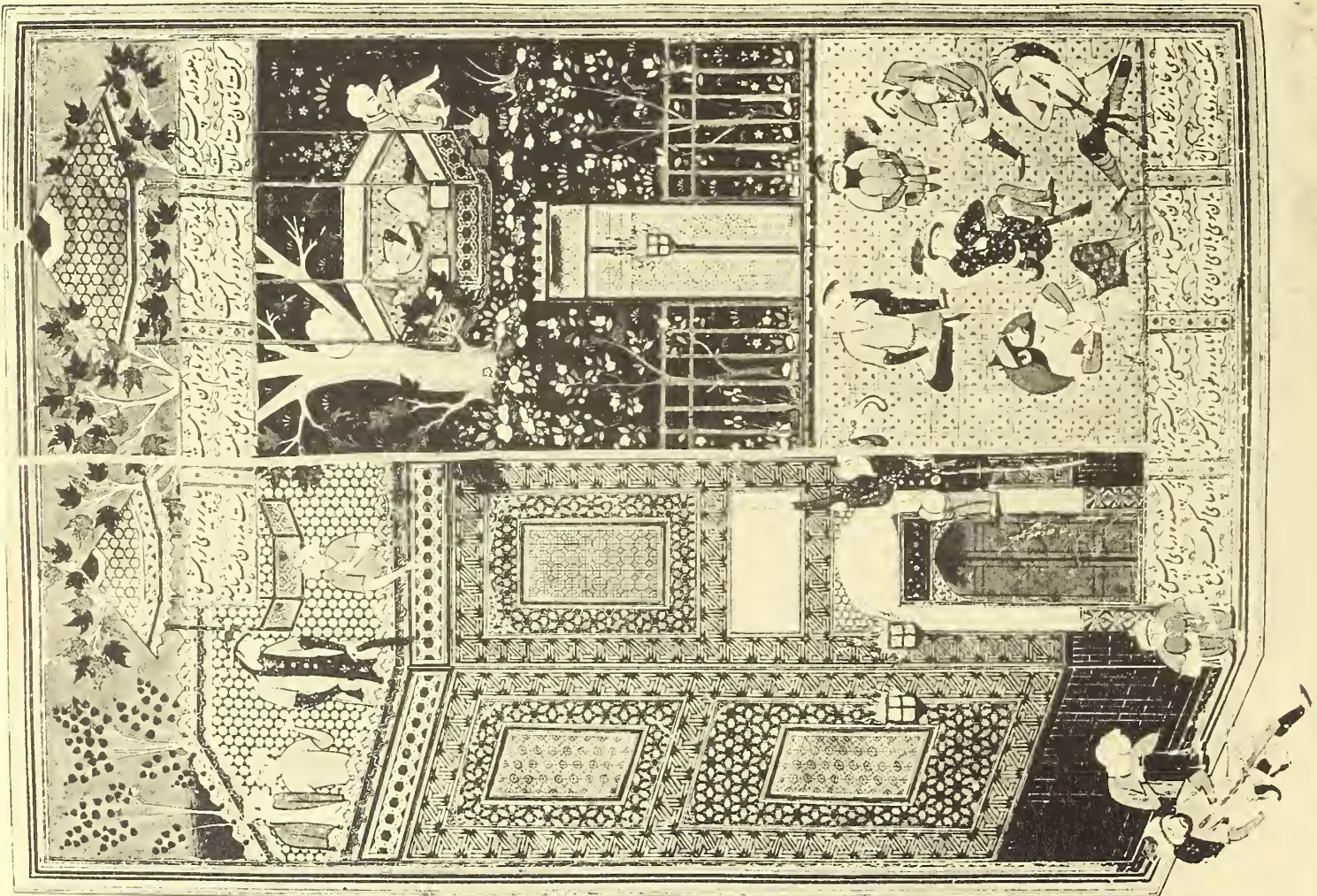


A. Nūshīrvān at the ruined tower. Probably 1584 (App., No. 43)

Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania



B. Qais (Majnūn) and Lailā at school. Probably 1584 (App., No. 43)



A. Zāl ascends to Rūdāba while the guards sleep. 1589 (App., No. 44)



B. Hunting scene. 1589 (App., No. 44)

Courtesy of The Rosenbach Company









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